

*A History of
Travancore*

INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

A HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE

From the Earliest Times

MENON P.T.

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PREFACE.

TRAVANCORE, the southernmost State in India, was well known in early times. Nevertheless, its early history, extent of its territory, and other particulars are mostly buried in obscurity, owing to the non-existence of a correct and detailed history of the kingdom. The existence of the kingdom going back to pre-historic times, no historical facts are found recorded illustrating its antiquity.

There is scarcely a kingdom on the face of the earth, whose dynasty continued to exist in an unbroken line of succession, from the time of its foundation to the present day.

The mother-country of Travancore was the Mandala kingdom Chera, which once covered the best portion of Southern India, and which underwent various changes during the four Yugas according to the Puranic accounts. In the present age, Kali Yuga, it was gradually reduced to the present Travancore with its area of 6658½ square miles, situated between the 8th and 10th degree of north latitude. In this reduced state, Travancore became more strongly protected by natural boundaries, the south and the west being bounded by the Indian Ocean, the east, by the range of the high ghauts, and the northern parts being mostly covered with back-waters, rivers, lakes, &c. Thus the situation of Travancore being unfavourable for the march of horses and elephants that formed the best portion of an army in those days, saved it from the incursions of foreign invaders.

When maritime powers began to rise, Travancore finding itself too weak to resist them, made alliance with them and pursued its original policy of commerce, thus avoiding quarrels.

Travancore is perhaps the only kingdom in India which preserves its original caste, religion, customs, manners, institutions, &c., &c., and the compiler of the Travancore records is perfectly right in saying that "Travancore is one of the very few remaining specimens of a pure Hindu Government, the institutions of which have never been affected by the Mahomedan conquest."

The peculiar class of Numboory Brahmans whom Parasu Rama newly organized, retain without any change what-

ever, all their Brahmanical observances even to the present day. The four castes introduced by Parasu Rama, and subsequently multiplied to seventy-two by Sankara Acharyar, as shown in the Kerala Ulppathy, are still flourishing in Travancore, as will be seen from the Travancore Census Report, recently published.

The Chera characters, the Tamil and Grandha, are the national letters in Travancore, and the former is still the character in which the Government records are written. From its original state, as Chera Mandalam, the largest of the three Mandala kingdoms, covering the best portion of Southern India, it was reduced to a small province, bounded by Canara, Coimbatore, Tinnevely and the Indian Ocean. Subsequently we find that it flourished under its present name Travancore, and continued tributary to the Rayers of Vijayanagpur, when Viswanatha Naicker assumed the Government of Madura. Under the Rayer dynasty, Travancore was still reduced and humiliated by being degraded to the low position of a feudatory chief. The Rev. W. Taylor, in his translation of Historical manuscripts, page 161, observes that during the sway of Thirumali Naicker of Madura, the Malayalam, Nannjend Rajah (King of Travancore) was included among "the seventy-two Palliyams (feudal chiefs) appointed to guard the bastions of the Pandian capital."

From the position of a feudatory State, Travancore rose again, slowly but surely, and recovered many of its lost possessions, both in the east and in the north.

An important feature in the history of Travancore, is, that even after being reduced to a feudatory State, its sovereigns were able to extend their dominions to its present extent, solely at the point of the sword, through the bravery of Travancore's sons alone, unaided by any external agencies, till the beginning of the present century, thus showing that the natives of Travancore are quite competent for the administration of the country, in its Revenue, Civil, and Military branches. This history will shew how the sovereigns and the Statesmen of Travancore distinguished themselves in the government of the kingdom, when western enlightenment and civilization were unknown in India.

This remarkable native State, being situated at the southernmost extremity of the Indian empire, had not been brought forward prominently before the public in early times, nay, not till the assumption of the Government of India by the British Crown; and consequently, it is not surprising that its original history remained in obscurity. In the absence of a correct

and detailed history of the country in print, it is impossible for the public to possess any real and true knowledge of the past and present political affairs connected with this kingdom. Hence, we find, the character of the former administration of the country and of its sovereigns spoken of from erroneous data, and writers indulging themselves in advancing comparatively false views of persons and things.

There are some short accounts of Military operations and other political events concerning this country, embodied in modern works published at various times, but nothing in the form of a full and true history has hitherto appeared in the English language.

In the Malabar year 1043, a small work in the shape of a Malayalam pamphlet compiled by one Pachu Moothathu of Vycome, a Sanscrit scholar and a Native Practitioner, attached to the palace of His Highness the Maha Rajah of Travancore, appeared at Trevandrum. This work, however, short and abridged and based upon erroneous data on certain important points, contains many trustworthy and real accounts connected with the progress of the kingdom, under the present dynasty and the good and memorable administration of the sovereigns as well as the meritorious labours of many of the able Ministers of the State. Great credit is due to the author of that pamphlet, as he was the first person who made such a praiseworthy attempt. I have been in a measure benefited by reference to this work, in writing this, in which my spare time has been spent for many years.

I would have, long ago, brought this work before the public; but when I had finished the first five chapters in 1870, I learnt that the then Dewan of Travancore, Sir T. Madava Row, K.C.S.I., had commenced writing a History of Travancore, and, therefore, I naturally dropped my pen, as my work, if completed, would not compete with that of this eminent Statesman.

In the year 1873, a Malayalam translation of Sir Madava Row's History of Travancore appeared in print, but it consisted only an account of the history of two reigns. As a complete history of the country from his able pen cannot be expected at present, I resumed my work. For want of sufficient and trustworthy materials, the progress was very slow for some time, but His Most Gracious Highness the present Maha Rajah, very kindly gave directions to the Palace Officials, to furnish me with all necessary information from the palace archives, and also to render me every assistance towards the completion of my labours. Backed by such indulgences, I

proceeded on with my work, and have now brought it to a close.

Almost all the illustrations, this work contains, were obtained from the Palace Gallery with the exception of a few, which were drawn according to traditional accounts by Kilimanoor Revi Vurmah Koil Thumpuran, the artist who gained medals in the Madras and Calcutta Fine Arts Exhibitions. To this able and ingenious artist my most sincere thanks are specially due.

It would be necessarily difficult to offer my thanks individually to every one who has rendered assistance in this useful undertaking, and so, I acknowledge generally my obligation to all, from whom any aid had been obtained towards the completion of this work, which I hope will prove useful and acceptable to the public.

The best available hands in Madras were procured for the Lithographs, yet I cannot say that the work has been satisfactorily accomplished. The great amount of time taken by the Lithographers has caused the delay in the appearance of the book.

The heading of Chapter II has been printed "Reign of Dasa Vanji Pala Marthanda Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal" through an oversight, it ought to be properly "Reign of Sri Padmanabha Dasa Vanji Pala Marthanda Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal."

SHARETALAY IN TRAVANCORE, }
November 1878.

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ADDENDA.

Page 32, line 15, for 7th century, *read* 11th century.

„ 39, „ 8, „ Rakshapumshen, *read* Rakshapurushan.

„ 53, „ 32, „ Systerna Brahminacum, *read* Systema Brahmanicam.

„ 82, „ 12, „ and in the possession, *read* and are in the possession.

„ 126, „ 36, „ assisting the Quilon Rajah restoring, &c., *read* assisting the Quilon Rajah in restoring, &c.

„ 128, „ 1, „ of the Kayemkulam, omit *the*.

„ 140, „ 35, „ 21st Makaram, *read* 20th Makaram.

„ 260, „ 6, „ Kariakar, *read* Harikar.

„ 270, „ 6, „ Madacava, *read* Nadacava.

„ 302, „ 38-39, „ Valu Thamby the Dalawah's mother, *read* Valu Thamby Dalawah's mother.

„ 368, second line from the end, omit *both*.

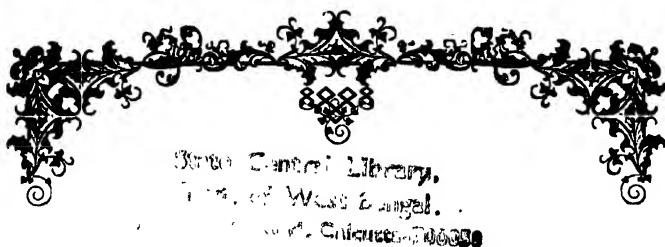
„ 370, line 9, omit *both*.

„ 448, „ 16, for described, *read* desoried.

„ 496, „ 26, „ returned from, *read* return from.

„ 500, „ 25, „ to see beautiful steamer, *read* to see the beautiful steamer.

„ 513, „ 28, „ but, *read* and.



HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY HISTORY OF TRAVANCORE.

THE present Dynasty of Travancore is one of the most ancient in India, the period assigned to its origin being the beginning of the world. The original designation of Travancore was Chera, or, as we find it spelt by some authors, Sera or Cera. CHAP. I.

Chera, the first of the three Southern Mandala kingdoms, has, according to the Tamil Nighandu (Dictionary), numerous appellations, but with the exception of a few, they appear to have become now obsolete.

Subsequent to the dismemberment of the main part of the Chera kingdom, and the embodying of the rest with its Southern and Kerala possessions, the designations were, first, Sreevalumcode or "Tiruvarumcode,"¹ abode of prosperity, which name was vulgarised into Thiruvancode, from which Travancore, the name used by the English is derived; second Vanavanaud, abridged into Venaud; third, Keralam; fourth, Vanji Desam; and fifth, Thiru Adi Desam.

All the ancient designations of Cheren are found in the Tamil language and the Nighandu has such designations.

1. Then shall Travancore indeed be what she is now fancifully denominated by her people, Tiru-varung-kodu, the sacred, prosperous kingdom, Vanji Bhumi, the Treasure Land, Dharma Bhumi, the land of Piety, Charity and Truth. Revd. Mateer's Land of Charity, page 370.

111. Nations arranged in it, of which a few may be quoted here as specimens :—

Cheren, Cheralen, (Keralen) Kollykavelen, Kodacon, Pothintharaven, Porunayattan, Vanjiventhen, Kothayar, Vanavarempen, Malayaman, &c.

All these names have special meanings which will be found in the Tamil Akarathi.

Chera monarchs had the titles Chakravarthy, Kula-sekhara Perumal, and Thiru Adikel. The meaning of the first title both in Sanscrit and Tamil is Emperor; the second is a mixed word, a compound of Sanscrit and Tamil, Kula, Sekhara, Perumal, signifying Head of the race of Kings, Kulant being race, Sekhara, Head, and Perumal, King; the third, Thiru Adikel in Tamil, signifies "Sacred or prosperous feet."

The title, Veera Kerala, is the same as that of Cheren, for, the western boundary of the kingdom of Chera extended beyond the Suhhyen mountains (the Western Ghauts) to the Arabian Sea, and the coast between the sea and the Ghauts was called Malayalam or Keralam (so called the first, from its situation at the foot of the hills, and the second from the fact of the land abounding with cocoanut, which in Sanscrit is called Keram, the owner of this land Cheren being as a matter of course styled Keralen.*)

The Sanscrit word *Sree* (CERES) is pronounced in Tamil, Thiru. The following are examples :—Thiruvancode instead of Sreevalumcode, Thiru Adikel for

* 1. Land of Perumals, page 88.

2. Cochin Administration Report for 1875-76.

3. "But, though what the Kerala Mahatmyam relates might be accepted, seeing that the Copper Plate Document, No. I, proves that Veera Kerala was the first Prince of Kerala; yet, on the other hand, there may be no harm in surmising, that this name of Veera Kerala may have had reference to the said country of Kerala which he governed." Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. 5, No. 9, New series.

4. Dr. Caldwell in his "Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages," says that the word Kerala was known under various forms, such as *Keralam*, *Cheralam*, *Cheram*, *Keram*, *Seram*, &c. He supposes *Kera* to be "the earliest form of the word."



SREE BHAGAVATHI.

Sree Adikel, Thiru Vanjicolam for Thiru Vanji Kovalakam, &c. CHAP
I.

The Chera dominions which include the best portion of the Dravida country had Tamil as its vernacular from the earliest time, and the Grandha and other characters originated in this kingdom. Dr. Burnell testifies to this fact in his *Paleography* wherein he says that, "The Grandha, modern Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu alphabets all have their origin in the Cera character, a variety of the Cave character, which was used in the Cera kingdom during the early centuries A.D. From the third to the seventh century appears to have been the most flourishing period in the modern history of this kingdom; it then extended over the present Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, Tondainadu, South Malabar and Cochin. It was, however, one of the three great old Dravidian kingdoms and existed already in the third century B.C."

The Puranas and other ancient Sanscrit and Tamil historical writings connected with, and bearing upon, the Puranas, describe the origin, in the Kritha Yugam (the first age), of three contemporary kings in Southern India called Cheren, Cholen and Pandyan, who ruled over three countries called after their names Chera Mandalam, Chola Mandalam and Pandya Mandalam. These three kings were brothers and were Soma Vamsa Kshatrias.

The Kshatrias are of two classes, namely, the Soorya Vamsa and Soma Vamsa, an account of whose origin will be interesting.

The Hindu chronology divides the age of the world into four Yugams, viz.: Kritha Yugam 4,800 years, Thretha Yugam 3,600 years, Dwapara Yugam 2,400 years, and Kali Yugam 1,200 years; the whole being equivalent to 12,000 years of the immortals.

In the Kritha Yugam two races of Kshatrias were begotten; one from the sun and the other from the moon, on whom the administration of the whole earth originally devolved.

CHAP.
I

Brahma, the Creator, begot a son Kásyapen. His son was Sooryan. His son Vaivaswatha Manu. His son was Sudyumnen alias Ilen, who, by a peculiar adventure, (which it is not to our present purpose to detail here) became a female, Ila, and by her the Emperor Purooravass was born to Budhen. His son was Ayush, his son Nahushen, his son Yayathi; he had two wives Devayani and Sarmishta, the former was the Brahman Rishi Sukren's daughter, who had two sons named Yedu and Durvasu, and to the latter Prince the Emperor Yayathi assigned sovereignty over the Southern part of India. The posterity of Durvasu are the three kings of Chera, Chola and Pandya. Of these three, Cheren was the head of the present Travancore Dynasty, which is also called Keralen.

The celebrated and popular work called Harivamsa,¹ has in its 32nd Chapter a detailed narrative of the origin of the abovementioned Dynasties, the substance of a few verses of which may be given below.

Durvasu's son was Vahni, his son Gourbhanu, his son Thraisanu, his son Karendhamen, his son Maruthen, who had no male issue but only a daughter by name Sammatha, whom the king gave as *Kanniaka Danam* to Jupiter's brother, Samvarthen, a Brahman endowed with great wisdom and learning. Maruthen adopted Dushenthen from Pooruvumsam, and they thus became united with the renowned Pooruvamsa. Dushenthen's son was King Guryamen or Karendhamen; he had four sons called Pandyan, Keralen, Solen and Kolen. The kingdom was divided among the sons by their father, who called the divisions after their names Pandya, Sola, Kerala and Kola.

1. When those observations passed through the Press we had not met with a passage in the Harivamsa, adduced by Col. Wilford, which confirms the statement of our manuscripts by assigning the South country to Durvasu, and adding that in the tenth generation after him four brothers divided the Peninsula among them; they being respectively named Pandya, Gerala, Cola and Chola, of whom Cola had the most Northern portion. W. Taylor's Preface, p. 11 and 12, *Historical Manuscripts Translation*, Vol. 1.



THE EMPEROR YAYATHI.

Other Authors¹ make allusion to only three Dynasties, i.e., Chera, Chola and Pandya, of which Chera was subsequently styled Kerala, in which Kola appears to have been embodied. The Puranas are the chief authorities for the above accounts. CHAP.
I

For such information as is pre-historical, we are obliged to depend upon the Puranas alone, though many are of opinion that these are not trustworthy. Indeed, the descriptions of things and deeds narrated in the Puranas are certainly open to such criticism, but as we do not hesitate to place credence on the Bible, the Koran and such writings, conveying to us religious instructions and Divine commands, we may generally place our belief in the Puranic accounts, rejecting the exaggerations and such fictitious descriptions as the authors of the Puranas may have added to embellish their works.

Even some of the best European authors have taken the view that the Hindu Puranas are acceptable authorities in such matters. In page 86 of "A Historical Sketch of Sanscrit Literature," the author says, "The Puranas hold an eminent rank in the religion and literature of the Hindus. Possessing like the Vedas the credit of divine origin and scarcely inferior to them in sanctity, they exercise a more extensive and practical influence upon Hindu society. They regulate their ritual, direct their faith and supply in popular legendary tales materials for their credulity. To European scholars, they recommend themselves on other accounts; and they have been considered to contain not only the picturesque and mythological part of Indian superstition, but as the treasury of extensive and valuable historical remains whose data reach back at least nearly to the deluge. The Puranas include ancient traditions respecting the Gods, religions, doctrines and rites, the creation,

1. Tradition and native records represent the Southern portion of the Indian Peninsula as being anciently divided into three contemporary kingdoms; 1, The Pandya; 2, Chola or Sora; 3, Chera Sora or Konga. Professor Dowson's Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 8.

CHAP. I. "the ages of the world, cosmography, and the genealogy and history of the ancient kings as well as the deeds of their successors."

We think that the fabulous narratives recorded in the Puranic writings might be easily and well sifted out and authentic and credible facts collected from them.

The following are the names of the eighteen Puranas, with brief notes of their substances :

I.—*The Brahma Purana* contains an account of the creation and of the Manwantharas, the history of the solar and lunar races to the time of Krishna, a description of the Universe, a life of Krishna and a treatise on the mode in which Yoga is to be performed. It treats also of the Supreme power of the Omnipotent and Omnipresent Being, the importance of the Vedas and the works assigned to Brahmans and other classes. It describes the sanctity of various holy places including Ananthásayanam (Trevandrum).

II.—*The Padma Purana* is divided into five parts; (1), Srishti Khanda; (2), Bhoomi Khanda; (3), Swarga Khanda; (4), Pathala Khanda; (5), Uttara Khanda. These contain treatises on the creation after the deluge, the origin of Brahma, the Vedas, the Manus, &c., &c.

III.—*The Vishnu Purana* is that in which Parasara, beginning with the events of the Varaha Kalpa, expounds all duties. This Purana introduces the substance of almost all the other Puranas.

IV.—*The Vayu Purana*. The Purana in which Vayu has declared the laws of duty in connection with the Sweta Kalpa and which comprises the Mahatmyam of the Rudra. This is narrated by Sootha to the Rishies of Naimisarannya. It is divided into four Padas termed severally Prakriya, Upodghata, Anushanga and Upasamhara. The first treats of the creation. The next contains the subject of the creation and describes the various Kalpas. The genealogies of the Patriarchs, the description of the Universe, and

the incidents of the first six Manwantharas are all treated in this part. It contains also praises of Siva. A long account of the Pithrus and the stories of some of the celebrated Rishies are also to be found. The third part commences with an account of the seven Rishies and their descendants and describes the origin of the several classes of created beings. Then comes a long and full account of the Solar and Lunar Kshatria Dynasties. The last portion describes briefly the future Manwantharas, the measures of space and time, the end of the world, the efficacy of Yoga and the glories of Sivapura.

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V.—The *Sree Bhagavatha* consists of twelve Skundhas or Chapters. The first nine Chapters contain treatises on various subjects, such as the origin of the Purana, the creation, renovation and the end of the world, a descriptive account of Kali Yugam, the various stages of human life and a comparison of the human system and its functions to a Fort with nine gates, a description of good and evil deeds, and the reward and punishment for such acts, a view of Heaven, Paradise, and Hell, an account of the incarnation of Vishnu, description of the world both terrestrial and celestial, the churning of the oceans, an account of the king of Pandya being cursed by Agasthyar, the origin of the two races of Kshatrias, &c., &c.; the tenth dwells exclusively on the birth and life of Krishna; the eleventh on Vedic discourse and metaphysics, concluding with Krishnen's deification; and the twelfth contains a history of the kings of Kali Yugam, the work closing with numerous instructive lectures and Vedic discourses.

Some persons are of opinion that the Purana called *Deves Bhagavatha* is the one to be reckoned amongst the eighteen Puranas and not the one which is generally denominated *Sree Bhagavatha*, but we are of opinion that the latter is the proper Purana to be included among the eighteen.

VI.—The *Naradeeya Purana*. In this, Narada

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I

describes the duties which were observed in the *Bṛhat Kalpa*. It contains praises of Vishnu, the birth of Markandeya, the destruction of Sagara's sons and the Vamana Avathara. It contains also a geographical treatise on Bharatha Khandam (India), in which the existence of the Dynasties of Chera (Kerala or Travancore) is mentioned.

VII.—The *Markandeya Purana* like most other Puranas dwells much on the creation, condition and destruction of the world by a deluge. It also treats of the birth of the Manus, the mode of prayers to Durga, the victory of the Goddess Bhavani over the Asuras, giants, and the story of the birds that were acquainted with right and wrong as related by Markandeya and the holy sages. It lays down rules for the observance of various classes and makes mention of the sanctity of the shrine of Benares and other holy places.

VIII.—The *Agni Purana* describes the Isanu Kalpa. It contains a description of the Avatharas, instructions for the performance of religious rites, duties of kings, a distribution and arrangement of the Vedas and Puranas, and a chapter on Gifts. It further contains an account of medicine and some instructions on the worship of Siva and Deves. The work concludes with a treatise on Rhetoric, Prosody and Grammar, according to the Sutras of Panini. In addition to this, rules for the due observance of the ceremonies on the occasion of a widow burning with the corpse of her husband are laid down.

IX.—The *Bhavishyat Purana* is that in which Brahma, having described the greatness of the sun, explained to Manu the existence of the world and the characters of all created things in the course of the Aghora Kalpa. It chiefly treats of matters to come, Bhavishyat meaning prophetic, such as the events of a future age, all that will come to pass up to the end of the world being predicted. It prophesies the end of the Government of the Kshatria kings of both races, with the exception of the Soma Vamsa King of Kerala.

(Travancore and Cola), the Cola conquest of the Veeralas (Belalas or Holsalas) and the rule of Kerala by this Kshatria King of Travancore and his relative Cola, the possession of Hindustan by Mletchas (Mahomedans), and then by the Hoonas (Europeans), to whom the King of Kerala (Travancore) will be tributary. The incarnation of Vishnu, as Kalkee, towards the end of the world, is also prophesied. In this Purana a description of Southern India with copious accounts of Chera, Chola and Pandya is given in detail. CHAP.
I.

X.—The *Brahmavaivarttha Purana* contains an account of the greatness of God and of Krishna, and the events of the Rathalva Kalpa. It is divided into four parts called Brahma, Deveen, Ganesa and Krishna. In this, the rules of Yoga Abhyasam (a certain devotional service performed by meditating on God while the body is in a certain fixed posture with a mind undistracted. The power and sanctity of various manthrams (devotional spells) are also described.)

XI.—The *Linga Purana*. In this, Maheswara, present in the Agni Linga, explains virtue, wealth, pleasure and final liberation at the end of the Agni Kalpa. Accounts of the creation, praises of Siva and Vishnu and a description of the universe are also given.

XII.—The *Varaha Purana* is that in which the glory of the great Varaha is predominant. It describes like other Puranas the creation of the world, and the deluge, and the advantages derivable from sacrifices and other divine offerings. It contains some allusions to the consecration of an image of Varaha Moorthi at Ananthasayanam (Trevandrum).

XIII.—The *Skanda Purana* is that Purana in which Skanda relates the events of the Thadpurusha Kalpa. It dwells upon the greatness and sanctity of Siva, the birth of Skanda or Subrahmanya, and the origin of Madura in the Pandyan country. It contains various prayers and hymns. It has also several branches such as Halassya Mahatmyam, &c.

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XIV.—The *Vamana Purana* is that in which is recorded how the four-faced Brahma taught the three objects of existence as conducive to the attainment of the greatness of Thirvikrama. It contains an account of the Siva Kulpa and of the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu. A detailed account of the Emperor Maha Bali and his righteous administration and an excellent lecture on charity, together with an account of the sanctity and holiness of the river Ganges, are also given in it.

XV.—The *Koorma Purana* is that in which Janardana in the form of a tortoise in regions under the earth, explained the objects of life, duty, wealth, pleasure and liberation, in connection with Indradyumna and the Rishies in the proximity of Sakra which refers to the Lakshmi Kalpa.

XVI.—The *Matsya Purana* is that in which for the purpose of promulgating the Vedas, Vishnu, in the beginning of a Kalpa, related to Manu, the story of Narasimha and the events of the seven Kalpas. It contains a copious description of the oceans, seas and their courses.

XVII.—The *Garuda Purana* is that in which Vishnu recites instructions in Garuda Kalpa, and dwells chiefly on the birth of Garuda. It treats of the doctrine of transmigration of the soul. A description of hell and the treatment of sinners in it, and of the eternal enjoyment in Paradise by the souls of those men who revered and observed the commandments of God is given. It also lays down rules for the observance of funerals and ceremonies connected with them.

XVIII.—The *Brahmanda Purana* is that which relates the origin or evolution of the world in the shape of an egg. It contains an account of the creation of the elements and every thing appertaining to the Universe as also the birth and life of Parasu Rama.

Independent of the above eighteen Puranas, there are eighteen more, denominated Upa Puranas; 1, *Sanatkumara Purana*; 2, *Narasimha*; 3, *Naradeya*;

4, *Siva*; 5, *Durvassa*; 6, *Kapila*; 7, *Manava*; 8, *Ausan-asa*; 9, *Varuna*; 10, *Kalika*; 11, *Samba*; 12, *Nandi*; 13, *Saura*; 14, *Parasara*; 15, *Adithya*; 16, *Maheswara*; 17, *Bhargava*; 18, *Vasishtha*. CHAP.
I.

Besides these there are three other Puranas equally sacred and more popular. These are the *Ramayana*, *Bharatha* and *Harivamsa*, composed by Rishies, the first by Valmiki, and the other two by Vyasa. These three Puranas are more generally read among modern Hindoos. The contents of these may be briefly sketched.

1st.—The *Ramayana* commences with a treatise on the cause of the incarnation of Vishnu as Sree Rama and that of his three brothers, Rama's progress in life, his going to the wilderness as an illustration of parental respect and obedience, the abduction of Seetha by Ravana, his erecting Sethu (Adam's Bridge), his victory over Ravana in Lunka (Ceylon), his crowning of Vibheeshana (Ravana's younger brother) as king of Lunka, his recovery of Seetha and his return to Ayodhya (Oude); his ruling over India as Chakravarthy for several thousand years with justice and wisdom and the existence of the kingdom of Keralam are also recorded in this Purana.

2nd.—The *Bharatha* opens with a general history of all the kingdoms and kings of the Solar and Lunar races in Bharatha Khandam. It contains an account of the birth and life of all the Rishies, the Couravas and the Pandavas; Arjuna's pilgrimage and his visit to Madura, Cape Comorin and Keralam (Malabar); the pilgrimage of Bela Rama (Krishna's brothers), to all the holy shrines; Sree Krishna's embassy to the court of Duryodhana; Vidura's instructive lecture to the old king Dhritirashtra; the commencement of the great war between the Couravas and the Pandavas; the conclusion of the war; installation of Dhurmaputhra as Chakravarthy (Emperor) after being victorious and levying tribute from all the kings of Bharata Khandam, including the king of Keralam (Travancore); the performance of the great sacrifice Aswamedham,

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his reigning over India with justice for a period of thirty-six years; Sree Krishna's deification, the end of the Dhurmaputhra's reign, and his translation to Heaven. This is one of the largest Puranas and contains most of the Hindu canons and laws, the duties of kings and the government of kingdoms. In this are laid down the highly renowned Hindu doctrines called Bhagavat Geeta and several others equally instructive. It contains narrations up to the end of the Dwapara Yugam and the commencement of the present age Kali Yugam. That the king of Keralam (Travancore) fought in the Bharata Yudhum on the side of the Pandavas and was killed in battle is also mentioned in it.

3rd.—The *Hariv* world and the creation. It contains some treatises on religion, gives a full and detailed genealogy of Kshatria kings both of the races of Soorya and Soma from their very origin to the early part of the present age Kali Yugam, and describes the origin of the Chera, Chola and Pandya dynasties as already stated.

There are various other works branching out from the Puranas and Upa Puranas. Almost every place of note has a work of its own, denominated *Sthala Mahatmyam*, which narrates particular events connected with the city or town about which it treats, with historical notes in some cases. But such writings chiefly dwell upon the sanctity or virtue of a shrine or a river in its neighbourhood. These being almost all exaggerated appear fabulous at the very first blush. Nevertheless, valuable and reliable accounts will be found in them. For instance, the *Sthalapuranam* of Madura contains a description, in highly exaggerated terms, of the Madura Temple and its surrounding buildings, with an account of the then ruling Pandyan dynasty. Though the accounts and descriptions are exaggerated, yet no one can deny the magnificence and grandeur of the Temple as well as the existence of the ancient dynasty of the Pandya kingdom.

The Sthala Mahatmyam of Thiru Avanasi, Peroor, Chera Maha Devi, Mannar Kovil, and other places, contains exaggerated accounts of the existence of Chera, while that of Conjeppuram contains historical remarks on the dynasty of Chola. CHAP.
I

There are two special works called Kerala Mahatmyam and Kerala Ulppathy; the one in Sanscrit and the other in Malayalam, which narrate the origin of Keralam. Both of these works contain reliable accounts concerning Keralam (Travancore).

The Hindu geography which corresponds with that of the European, particularly in regard to the shape of the earth, divides the world into nine divisions, of which Asia is denominated Jemboo Dwipu, in which is included Bharata Khandam (India).

This land of Bharatha is divided into 56 kingdoms, viz.: Casmeerah, Nappala, Kosala, Camboja, Paunchala, Simhala, Aunga, Kalinga, Kamaroopa, Saovira, Kuroo, Bhoja, Vithaiha, Valmeeka, Kekaya, Vunga, Sourashtra, Punnadaga, Parpara, Kuluntha, Soorasena, Dangana, Martha, Saindhava, Purashara, Pandhara, Saliva, Kudaka, Neisheedha, Thoorka, Durga, Marda, Poundra, Magatha, Chethiya, Maharashtra, Gundhra, Carnadaka, Dravida, Kukkada, Lada, Mahrva, Magara, Desarna, Ottiya, Bachu, Yavana, Baguvane, Konkana, Kashyva, Dungana, Latcha, Chola, Pandya, Chera and Kerala.

Of these, the last two kingdoms, Chera and Kerala, were owned by one and the same king, viz., that of Travancore.

The kingdom of Chera was the most southern and largest among the three States already alluded to.

The boundaries of the kingdom of Chera which are variously defined by ancient Tamil authors, were according to one, the Pulney Hills in the north, the town of Peroor in the east, the sea about Cape Comorin in the south, and the range of the great mountains on the west, extending about 80 cathams (800 miles).

CHAP. I. Another Tamil author extends the northern boundary to the Coorg Hills and the western to Calicut.

But Dr. A. C. Burnell, who is a more reliable authority than many others, says in his *Paleography* already referred to, that the Chera kingdom existed in the early centuries A.D., that it then extended over Mysore, Coimbatore, Salem, Tondainadu, South Malabar and Cochin, and that it was one of the three great Dravidian kingdoms and was divided into the eastern and western Chera, the former extending up to Madras.

The Chera Dominions bordered on the Pandyan and Chola countries, the principal towns being Salem, Avanasi or Thiru Avanasi in Coimbatore, Trichencode near Trichinopoly, Thenkasi, Valliyoor, Thrikanankudy and Chera Maha Devi, all south-east of Avanasi in the District of Tinnevely.

On the Malabar coast or in Keralam, the capitals were Thiru Vanjicolam¹ (Sree Vanji Kovilakam, the residence of the prosperous Vanji dynasty), Colicode (Calicut), and Kollum (Quilon).

In India (Bharatha Khandam), the mode of Government followed from the earliest times as narrated in the Puranas, was that any king on becoming more powerful than all the others conquered them and declared himself Chakravarthy (Emperor).

A few of the most renowned emperors who governed as Chakravarthies in each Yugam from Kritha to Dwapara and almost all the Chakravarthies in Kali Yugam (the present age) according to the Puranas are the following:—

In Kritha Yugam (the first age), Harrischundren, Muchukunden, Pariyawathen, Hirannyakshen, Banen, Maha Bali and others.

1. Sera metropolis, we conjecture to be no other than Tiruvanchi, the capital of the Sera Desam, according to our Manuscripts.—Rev. W. Taylor, page 13. Preface.

In Thretha Yugam, Sagaren, Karthaveeryen, Reghu, Desarethen, Sree Ramen and others. CHAP.
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In Dwapara Yugam, Budhen, Pariasathen, Nalen, Pandu, Dhurmaputhra and others.

In the Kali Yugam (the present age which has now come to the 4979th year), Pareekshithu (Abhimanyu's son), Jenamejeyen, Sathaneekan, Prakrethirethen, Jehganu, Chithrarathen, Chithrasenan, Thrisanku, Pariplavan, Sunayan, Madhavee, Robhunjeyan, Thikunan, Shathaneekan, Thendapani, Nimi, Autchanakan and twenty-six other kings, who reigned up to the year 656 in the early part of this Yugam.

Subsequent to the above period, the system of Chakravarthy or imperial Government by the northern Kshatria kings appears to have been at an end, and each of the various rulers of India irrespective of caste, became supreme in his own kingdom. Some of the most powerful sovereigns contrived to bring the neighbouring potentates to subjection by war and declared themselves petty Chakravarthies over a few other kings. Of such Emperors, we have accounts written both in the Puranas, as also in modern histories. The authors of the Puranas, we find, record the history and the heroic exploits of the Chakravarthies up to the early part of Kali Yugam, and the subsequent history of the emperors and kings and their kingdoms in India is narrated by modern historians.

We have instances of the above kind in the Dynasties of Nanda, Mourya, Kala Bhoorya, Yadava, Kola, Vicramadithya, Salivahana, Bhoja, the Yavanas, the Mohamedans of Delhi, the Rayer of Anagoondy (Vijayanuggar) the Mahrattas and the English.

So also there have been instances of the Southern kingdoms of Pandya, Chola and Chera being ruled alternately by one among themselves as Chakravarthy, and at other times each governing his own kingdom. Narratives, however imperfect and brief, could be found regarding these kings and their kingdoms in various works.

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The origin of the ancestral line of the Chera dynasty (Travancore), in the first age of the world, Kritha Yugam, has been already shown and we will now endeavour to trace out and follow this dynasty down to the present time in an unbroken line.

In describing the Pandyan dynasty through all its revolutions, Mr. Taylor shows the existence of the Chera dynasty as co-existing¹ with the Pandyan, up to the time of the dissolution of its original house.

The Purana called Halassya Mahatmyam already alluded to makes mention of sixty-four Leelas (amusements), and the king of Chera is mentioned in the 12th, 14th, 42nd, 49th, and 62nd Leelas; which Mr. Taylor in his Historical Manuscript Translation calls "Thiruvilaudal."

In Thretha Yugam, Kerala or Malayalam is said to have been recovered from the sea by Parasu Rama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. Several Puranas relate the story though the versions vary. One account says that with the permission of Varunen (the God of the sea), Parasu Rama flung his weapon from Cape Comorin and it fell at Gokurnam, whereupon the sea receded from those two points, to the present extent of the Malabar Coast and he called it Keralam; that in the reclaimed part of the land Parasu Rama established cities, towns, villages, &c., and invited people from various countries and peopled the land throughout; while another account states that the weapon was flung from Gokurnam and it fell at Cape Comorin. A third account states that the holy temple at Gokurnam having been buried under the sea in the first age (Kritha Yugam), and in the next age (Thretha Yugam), Parasu Rama, at the request of the people, asked the lord of the sea to recede, and from Gokurnam flung his wooden spoon (used for sacrificial pur-

1. The Sera-desam, Sera-desam and Pandya-desam, are most frequently alone enumerated as co-existing; and our manuscript authorities in the first volume allude to no other, in the remote period of antiquity.

poses) which fell at Cape Comorin and the sea receded. ^{CHAP. I.} Of the fabulous accounts of the Puranas we have already said enough, and so we shall now try to sift out the probable facts.

The western part of the range of hills called Sahhyen (between Canara and Quilon) must have been a tract of land at the creation of the earth but had been submerged in the sea. Subsequently, the sea receded and a large portion of the land between Quilon and Mangalore remained uncultivated during the reign of the Chera King Keralan, when the Brahman warrior Parasu Rama visited this land of Keralam, established himself there, organised a Brahman community, introduced a new system of Government, lived there for a considerable period of time and then retired.¹ A writer in the Cottayam College Quarterly Magazine, in its issue of July 1866, has the following observations in regard to the origin of Keralam.

"Can there be a doubt that this legend chronicles in the style of the Poets, the effects of volcanic agency on this coast centuries ago; first that there was once a subsidence, probably sudden, at Gokurnam, and secondly, that there was afterwards a perceptible uprising, most probably in this case gradual, of at least some portion, if not of nearly all the coast between Gokurnam and the Cape."

"The whole appearance of the coast of Kerala, wherever at least we find the low-lands and backwaters, would appear to indicate, that it has thus been raised, certainly during the present era; and if, as our legend would seem to tell, this has happened under the eye of man, it becomes the more deeply interesting. Nor can we forget that even now there are decided evidences of unstable "equilibrium"

1. Kookal Keloo Nair the District Munsiff of Malabar and afterwards Sub-Judge of Calicut, gives a similar opinion in a Memorandum on the Syrian and Jewish Copper Plates, published in Vol. 5, No. 9. New Series of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science. Keloo Nair's opinion on the land of Keralam alone is accepted here, and not his opinion on the Copper Plates.

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"along the coast line. The sea at Alleppie is considerably further from the town than it was but a few years ago, which shows that the shore is rising; the same is the case at Cochin to an extent that we think can scarcely be accounted for by accumulating sand; while to the north of Cochin the sea is as evidently encroaching, and in some parts has for years past caused great destruction of property. Moreover we are not altogether strangers in Kerala to the shocks of earthquakes; in 1856, especially, repeated shocks were felt; in 1823, 1841, and 1845, shocks have also been recorded at Trevandrum. In several cases the shocks seem to have been propagated from the north-west; and on September 1st, 1856, a ball of a pendulum in the Trevandrum Observatory 17 feet long, is recorded to have been moved about 4 inches in the direction north-west by north and south-east by south which is about the direction of the coast line."

"All these facts would appear to favour the conclusion that the low-lands of the Malabar coast have been raised from beneath the sea-level by subterranean forces, and that this has happened, in all probability in comparatively modern times."

The fact of the land between Gokurnam and Kunnya Oumari having been submerged in the ocean at one time is testified to by the Brahmanda Purana in which it is said that the holy pagoda of Gokurnam had been under water for a long time; that certain Rishies and others interested in the pagoda went to Parasu Rama and begged him to take steps for its recovery; that Parasu Rama proceeded to Gokurnam and prevailed upon Varuna, the Neptune of the Hindus, to recede to a certain distance between Gokurnam and Cape Comorin; and that the land of Keralam was thus reclaimed.

As Parasu Rama is generally represented to have been the sole creator of the land of Keralam, it would not be uninteresting to give here a brief account of his life.



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According to the Brahmanda Purana, this celebrated ^{chap. 1.} Brahman was a descendant of the renowned Rishi Bhrigu and is believed to have been the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. He is said to have been born in the second age of Thretha Yugam in a hermitage on the banks of the river Nurbuda. His father was a sacred devotee named Jamadagni. His mother's name was Renuka. Jamadagni had five sons of whom Rama was the youngest. While the whole family was living comfortably in the hermitage during Rama's minority, a sad event disturbed their quiet and peaceful life.

One day Jamadagni left his hermitage to procure things for his devotional services, while Renuka left it to bring water from the neighbouring river Nurbuda. Jamadagni returned, but did not find his wife as usual. He grew angry at her absence. After a while, Renuka returned, and on being questioned, she confessed that she was detained at the bank of the river Nurbuda by seeing the reflection in the water of a Gandharvan (Genii) called Chithrangaden, passing through the air. The shape of the spirit was so beautiful that she was tempted to have a moment's look at the shadow and thus a little time was lost. At this declaration of his wife's weakness, the enraged Rishi was so vexed that he resolved on her immediate death and calling his sons one by one before him, ordered them to kill their mother, but four of them refused on the plea that the Law prohibits the killing of a female and further that in this case the female was their mother. But Rama, on being ordered, declared that nothing would prevent him from obeying his father. So saying he cut off Renuka's head at once. When Renuka fell on the ground, Jamadagni was exceedingly pleased with the prompt obedience shown by his youngest son and said to Rama that he might ask for anything which he liked and that he would have it immediately. Rama said that he wished to see his mother restored to life without loss of time. Jamadagni, being a Rishi who had gained the blessings of God by his devotions, prayed to the All-powerful Being for the resuscitation

CHAP. of Renuka and God vouchsafed life to her at once.
I Rama was delighted and they all lived comfortably for some time more.

Subsequently, Rama was sent by his parents to the hermitage of his great-grandfather Bhrigu, to be educated in the Vedas and other literature. Here he spent some time to complete his education and afterwards, acting upon the advice of that venerable sage, Rama proceeded to the Himalayas to meditate on the deity Siva. Here he spent many years in meditation and penance. These devotional exercises pleased Siva, who appeared to Rama in person, conferred on him all sorts of blessings and directed him to visit all the holy places on the face of the earth which Rama did and returned to the Himalayas where he resumed his devotional meditations. While Rama was thus engaged, a war broke out between the Devas and the Asuras. The former, being defeated and driven out of Swarga, went to Siva and represented their grievances. Whereupon, Rama was sent for and Siva asked him to assist the Devas giving him all necessary instructions as to the mode of conducting the war and the use of various weapons. Siva presented him with a battle-axe called Parasu and from this day Rama was called Parasu Rama. He proceeded to the war, with great energy fought against the Asuras and gained a decisive victory. The Devas, as well as Siva were extremely pleased with Parasu Rama and conferred upon him the choicest blessings. Parasu Rama again repaired to the Himalaya mountains and recommenced his devotional penance. A considerable time afterwards, Siva, having been exceedingly pleased with Parasu Rama, paid a visit to him and presented him with a supernatural chariot and an arrow which were to appear before him whenever he wanted them. Parasu Rama entrusted these to Siva's own attendants, Kundodaren and Mahodren. Thus, having obtained all his wishes, and his wants being supplied, Parasu Rama left the Himalayas and came to his great-grandfather Bhrigu. There he spent some time, and then

returned to his parents on the banks of the Nurbuda, where the family were living together comfortably. Now, Karthaveerarjuna, the king of Hehaya came to the neighbouring forests on a hunting excursion and being fatigued entered the hermitage for a little refreshment. Jamadagni, Parasu Rama's father, entertained the party, and on the departure of the king on the next morning, he took a fancy to the Rishi's cow called Kamadhenu. This the king informed his minister, who resolved to get the animal at any risk. He sent a messenger to ask Jamadagni to sell the cow to the king. On his refusing to part with it, a party of soldiers was despatched to the hermitage and they took the cow by force. Thereupon a severe struggle ensued between Jamadagni and the king's men, in which the Rishi was killed. Parasu Rama was absent from the hermitage at the time. On his return he had the mortification of seeing his father's body mutilated and lifeless and his mother and brothers weeping. When the mother saw Parasu Rama, she beat her breast with her hand twenty-one times. Bhrgu divining the state of affairs in his relatives' family, immediately repaired to the scene and on carefully examining the body of Jamadagni, he found that life was not extinct and by the aid of certain medicines Jamadagni was restored to life. Parasu Rama afterwards proceeded to Karthaveerarjuna's capital, and standing at the Palace gate, with his Parasu, bow and arrow, sent a message to the effect that the king should give an explanation of his cruel conduct in ill-using a Brahman and forcibly taking away his property. At the same time he asked him to restore the cow and seek the pardon of the venerable Brahman for the outrage he had committed and in case of his refusing to do so to meet Parasu Rama in single combat.

The king, when he heard of this proposal, sneered at such a ridiculous menace and ordered his guards to drive away the Brahman. The guards were, however, killed by Parasu Rama, whereat the king grew angry and equipped himself to meet Parasu Rama. A severe

CHAP.

I

CHAP. I. *and sanguinary battle ensued and Arjuna was defeated and slain.*

Afterwards, five of Arjuna's sons, who survived him met Rama in battle. When they were about to fall victims to Rama's Parasu, they, under divine inspiration, put down their weapons and besought Parasu Rama's pardon, promising to give up the cow and make full reparation for the wrongs done by their father.

Parasu Rama after restoring the cow to his parents, retired to the Himalayas and resumed his penitential exercises. In his absence, the then reigning king, one of the sons of the late king Karthaveera of Hehaya, happened to pass by the Nurbuda, and casting his eyes on the hermitage of Jamadagni, enquired whose property it was, and he was told that it belonged to Jamadagni. On hearing the name, the king entered the hermitage sword in hand and meeting Jamadagni severed his head from his body at one blow, and on the funeral pile of Jamadagni perished Benuka, Parasu Rama's mother.

Some time afterwards, Parasu Rama returned from the Himalayas and learning the fate of his parents set out for the country of the Hehayas, and in order to fulfil his vow, proceeded with his bloody axe to continue the work of destroying the Kshatria kings. After going one round and finishing his work of destruction, he retired to do penance again. He repeated these deeds twenty-one times.

It is also said that on the last occasion he collected all the Kshatria kings at a place called Kurukshetram and having beheaded the whole of them he performed certain ceremonies with their blood for the salvation of the souls of his parents!

After this, Parasu Rama retired to the Mahendra Mountains, and performed penance for some time. He then went round the earth three times and returned to the hill of Mahendra, where he performed the Aswamedha sacrifice, and many other religious ceremonies.

While at Mahendra, Kasyapa and other Rishies visited him and he consulted them as to the best means of expiation for the sin of killing his own mother and the Kshatria race. Acting upon their advice, he gave up the whole of the conquered lands to the Brahmans. Parasu Rama then continued his religious penance in a grotto of the Mahendra hills, and there passed many ages.

CHAP.

I.

During the interval, certain peculiar circumstances occurred which caused a sudden rise of the ocean, and the sacred shrine of Gokurnam, together with several other remarkable shrines on this coast were submerged in the ocean, as has been already mentioned. The Rishies interested in these sacred places repaired to Parasu Rama and besought his help in recovering the sacred buildings. Rama came to Gokurnam, and after making arrangements with Varuna, flung his wooden sacrificial spoon, thus causing the sea to recede from Gokurnam up to Cape Comorin.

Parasu Rama then invited the Brahmans, who having received grants of lands were located in sixty-four gramams. He invited other castes also from foreign countries to occupy his new land, restored the sovereignty of the original Chera, and after living on the coast for a long time, retired to his grotto on the Mahendra hills, where he is supposed to be still living.

The time occupied in the establishment of Keralam as well as the exact period of Parasu Rama's abode in this land are not exactly ascertainable from any accounts in the Purana. The period mentioned in the Kerala Ulppathy is fifty thousand years.

The labors of Parasu Rama, in re-establishing Keralam and peopling the country between Cape Comorin and Gokurnam, and his other occupations are described in detail in a work called Kerala Mahatmyam.

This work, which consists of one hundred and five Chapters, is an interesting one, but the narratives recorded are like those in the Puranas, intermingled with exaggerations and romances, so that it requires

CHAP. I. no small amount of discriminative power to strip it of its poetical embellishments.

This work corroborates the above facts. In it we find it stated that Parasu Rama, after founding Keralam, invited Brahmans from the north to settle in the country which he divided into sixty-four gramams; that he ordained several grades of Brahmanical heads; consecrated numerous shrines between Gokurnam and Cape Comorin; and that the superintendence of each pagoda was entrusted to a Samuntha (Soma Kshatria called "Kovil Adhikarikal," i. e., manager of pagoda). After finishing almost all his works, and consecrating the Temple at Sreevardhanapuram (Padmanabhapuram), Parasu Rama invited a Soma Kshatria (certainly a member of the family of the king of Chera since there were no other Soma Kshatria kings then close at hand) named Bhanu Vicrama and three of his brothers, the last being named Kulasekharen, and assembling the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams, declared to them that the capital of his newly reclaimed country, between Cape Comorin and Gokurnam, shall be Sreevurdhanapuram (Padmanabhapuram) near Sreevalumcode (Thiroovithancode and Veera Keralapuram); that Bhanu Vicrama shall be the king over his land of Keralam, and that he was then placed on a throne of gold set with gems and had holy water and pearls poured over his head. Parasu Rama then giving him his own sword, together with many royal privileges, styled him king of the land between Cape Comorin and Gokurnam. A gold coin, called Rasi, was then minted and made over to the king for circulation as the currency throughout his dominions. One of the three brothers of this king was stationed at Gokurnam. This was the king of Kolathnaud who ruled South Canara under the designation of Cola. It is also stated that a long time afterwards, Parasu Rama personally crowned Bhanu Vicrama's nephew, Adithya Vicrama, at Sree Vurdhanapuram, presenting him with a sword as bright as the sun, and nominating eight ministers under him.



INSTALLATION OF BHANU VICRAMA AS KING OF KERALA.

It is likewise stated that latterly, Parasu Rama took a great interest in Udaya Vurmah, the head of the Cola Royal family, who was called the Northern Perumal, and made him the king of North Kerala, that a relative of Udaya Vurmah, who was in charge of a separate portion of the Cola country, became a Bhuddist, and built several temples and lived apart from the Royal family; that the Bhuddist king proceeded to Mecca and died there; that his funeral rites having been accidentally performed by one of the females of his house the Brahmans excommunicated the whole family with which King Udaya Vurmah was connected, whereupon Parasu Rama, consulting the great sage Narada, instructed Udaya Vurmah to perform the great ceremony called Hirannya Garbham, by constructing a golden cow and a silver bull, each weighing hundred thousand fanams (about ninety lbs.), to perform certain ceremonies, and to distribute gold and silver among the Brahmans; that Parasu Rama instituted a national ceremony called Mahamakham¹ and performed it with great splendour at Thirunawaye on the banks of the Bharathapulay (a river running to the south-west of Shoranore): that when the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams and the chiefs and petty rajahs of the country between Cape Comorin and Gokurnam were assembled at that place, the first seat in the assembly was assigned to Kulasekhara Perumal, king of Travancore, and the next to Udaya Vurmah of Kolathnaud, to the latter being assigned the duty of the future performance of this ceremony every twelfth year. We find also that the art of war was introduced by Parasu Rama and that the kings were taught the use of various weapons; that Parasu Rama then retired from Keralam, promising the Brahmans that on an emergency, he would appear at Trichoor, should the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams meet together, and meditate on him; that the Brahmans wanted to make a trial and Parasu Rama

CHAP.
I.

1. Madras Journal of Science and Literature, No. 39, page 124.

CHAP. I. appeared, but having learnt that there was no particular occasion for his being summoned, pronounced an imprecation on the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams saying that they would never in future be able to meet there together.

This Mahatmyam is said to be an Upa Purana, deriving its origin from Bhoogola Purana, and is in the form of a discourse between Yudhishtira and the sage Gurgga.

In "Valmiki Ramayana" we find that the emissaries of Rama were ordered to search for Seetha in Keralam also. We have now got through the second age, Thretha Yugam.

In the third age, Dwapara Yugam, the king of Kerala is often mentioned in the renowned work "Maha Bharata." The king of Kerala was as already mentioned one of the tributaries of the Emperor Yudhishtira, and during the great war, the Kerala king fought on the side of the Pandavas and died in the war. It is also said that the Pandavas, during their secret wanderings, visited Trevandrum and made several vows to the Deity Padmanabha Swamy.

During his pilgrimage, Arjuna visited Madura, where he married the daughter of the Pandyan king, and by her he had a son named Bebhruvahanen. On his way to Dwaraka, Arjuna visited Cape Comorin and Trevandrum and is generally believed to have consecrated a temple dedicated to the Goddess Durga on the banks of a tank, which is still called Phalgunan Kulam (Arjuna's Tank). He is said to have visited several places in Keralam before he returned to his capital.*

In a certain Tamil poem, the author says that Bela Rama, Sree Krishna's brother, visited the Chera kingdom, and attended the coronation of the then king, crowning him with his own hand.

* W. Taylor's Historical Manuscript Translation, vol. I, p. 226.

Now we enter into the present age (Kali Yugam). CHAP.
I.
In the early part of this age Bharatha Khandam (India) was under the rule of the Emperor Yudhishtira, and the king of Kerala, as heretofore, was tributary to him. After the close of Yudhishtira's reign, which is said to have ended in the 36th year of Kali, the subordinate relation to the succeeding emperors continued as a matter of course.

Up to the tenth century of the Kali Yugam, 48 kings reigned over the Chera kingdom. A list of their names has been preserved by one Kodumudi Ramalingam Kavirayer (Poet), now residing in the Erode Talook, most likely belonging to an ancient family of poets formerly attached to the Chera king's court.

This list shows that these kings reigned 905 years in the Kali Yugam. The 8th, 17th, 26th and 48th names in the list being unintelligible, are omitted, and the rest are the following :—

- 1, Yadukula Cheren ; 2, Vamsothunga Cheren ;
- 3, Manumurainatatha Cheren ; 4, Væraprathapa Cheren ; 5, Vikramaheswara Cheren ; 6, Ripukulaksheya Cheren ; 7, Samasardoola Cheren ; 8—9, Pulikotiparitha Cheren ; 10, Ellaikarakanda Cheren ;
- 11, Rajagambheera Cheren ; 12, Rajamarthanda Cheren ; 13, Raja Rajeswara Cheren ; 14, Rajaprathapa Cheren ; 15, Munril Maniyitta Cheren ; 16, Mummurthi Cheren ; 17—18, Ananthaguna Cheren ; 19, Vamsa Paripala Cheren ; 20, Mangalakara Cheren ; 21, Dhana Vishthara Cheren ; 22, Varagunotpala Cheren ;
- 23, Asramanilayitta Cheren ; 24, Anubhuthi Cheren ; 25, Ava Cheren ; 26—27, Sivapada Sikhara Cheren ; 28, Tiruneetu Cheren ; 29, Eludisa Cheren ; 30, Maiporul ; 31, Banarku Nidhi Thantha Cheren ; 32, Bhasara Bhanu Cheren ; 33, Aksheya Pathra Cheren ;
- 34, Siva Dharmottama Raja Cheren ; 35, Sivanesa Cheren ; 36, Sivotpala Cheren ; 37, Daivakunjara Cheren ; 38, Sindhuvarunya Cheren ; 39, Thrikedara Cheren ; 40, Thridesaranga Cheren ; 41, Athulaprathapa Cheren ; 42, Aganithakeerthiprathapa Cheren ; 43,

CHAP. I Veera Rajendra Cheren; 44, Bheemeswara Cheren; 45, Nirmala Cheren; 46, Panchakshara Cheren; 47, Kantabharana Cheren; 48.

The above sound more like regal titles than the real names of kings.

In the 28th Prabhava year i. e., 1860 of the Kali Yugam there was born at Thiruvanjicolam, in the month of Masi, Thursday, Punar Poosham Asterism, one of the most celebrated of the Chera kings, Kulasekhara Perumal, of the royal family of Chera. His father was Kshatria Dhrida Vrita, Maha Rajah. Kulasekhara was installed when he passed his minority and became Kulasekhara Perumal. He is also known by the titles of "Kolly Kavalan," "Chalpi Kon," and "Kukuda Puradheesen."

Kulasekhara Perumal unlike his predecessors evinced a very extraordinary attachment to his religion. After ruling the kingdom for some years he abdicated in favour of his heir, and became a Vaishnava devotee, and added Alwar to his name, a common epithet of Vishnu, as shown above. He was from that time known as Kulasekhara Alwar and Kulasekhara Thiru Adikel.

He set out on a pilgrimage to all the renowned Vishnu shrines, especially Thripathi and Sreerangam, where he commenced preaching the Vaishnava religion. He was known as a great Vaishnava devotee and had numerous followers. He was also a poet and composed numerous hymns in praise of Vishnu at various Vishnu Temples, especially at Thripathi, Sreerangam, Thirumala, Alwar Kovil, Ayodhya, Thiruvithoocode, Van Purushothaman, Thrikkannapuram, Thillai and Thrichithrakoodam.

Kulasekhara Perumal Alwar lived to the age of 57, and was deified at his residence in the Brahmadesam Talook of the Tinnevely district. His body was interred inside the Mannar Kovil Pagoda and the Vishnuites consider him to be a saint. His image is cut in granite and is placed in the Pagoda close to the



image of Vishnu where poojas and other religious rites are performed along with those to the deity to the present day. His image has also been consecrated and placed for public worship in several other Vishnu Pagodas. This saint was highly respected by the kings of Pandya and Chola. Several inscriptions, containing the terms of grants allotted for poojas and other ceremonies to this saint, are to be found on the walls of the Mannar Kovil Temple. There are also copper sasanams in the possession of persons attached to that temple.

CHAP.
I

Though many of the works composed by Kula-sekhara Alwar are now extinct, still there is a sacred hymn called Thiruvamoli in existence which is printed and published in Tamil and which the Vaishnavas reverence as Christians do the Holy Bible.

The correct name of the successor of this venerable sovereign as well as of many others of his line cannot be found but that the monarchy continued to rule its Chera possessions is a fact supported by traditions and several works.

In continuing our researches, we find that the rule of Vicramadithya is said to have ended in the three thousand one hundred and seventy-ninth year of the Kali Yugam. In the Bhavishyat Purana, the ninth in the list of Puranas, it was predicted in the eleventh chapter, that Vicramadithya will be born one thousand years after the commencement of the Kali Yugam, and will live to rule, by the divine blessing, for 2000 years; that Dheera Kerala Vurmah, king of Keralam, will be a contemporary of Vicramadithya and that that king will rule Keralam with great vigour and success.

Now from this prediction, we may conclude that Vicramadithya was born in the Kali year 1179, and that there were kings of Chera during that great monarch's reign.

It will be seen from the Revd. W. Taylor's manuscript translation already alluded to that some of the Pandyan kings who ruled Madura hundreds of years

CHAP.
L
subsequent to the reign of Vicramadithya, Salivahana and Bhoja, had jurisdiction over the Chera and Chola kings and that "Veera Vurmah Pandyan inherited the Pandyan kingdom and reigned forty years. He conquered the Malayalam (or Sera) country and other places, and derived tribute from them." Thus we have now come down to above 4000 years in the Kali Yugam, in our narrative relating to the Chera dynasty, which, in a great measure, is buried in obscurity, both in regard to chronology as well as to its successive rulers, and in their attempts to throw light on what is obscure many writers have been baffled. Our endeavours, however, have not been totally abortive.

The policy of the Chera kings would appear to have been peace at any price and their policy and avocations were decidedly more of a commercial than of a warlike nature.

Though there were continual feuds between Chola and Chera, and occasional misunderstandings and quarrels with Pandya, Chera appears to have been of a peaceable disposition and during any great struggle, retired to his Kerala possessions, which always afforded him an asylum from its peculiar situation, it being a well known fact that south Kerala is the only province in India which has escaped foreign invasion.

It is seen that the Malayalam country afforded an asylum to the Pandyan king whenever his kingdom was invaded by his enemies. And it is perhaps in consequence of this, and their friendly relations, that Chera is confounded with Pandya by some persons, and the one taken for the other. These are the two kingdoms known to the earliest European travellers.

Ptolomey the author of *Periplus*, *Marco Polo*, *Strabo*, and other early writers, allude to these two kingdoms as existing in the Peninsula of India.

The Chera dynasty continued in power, though constantly engaged in warfare with its neighbours Pandya and Chola, till central Chera was overrun

by the Konga Rajahs; the original dynasty of Chera then finally retired to its southern possessions, and joined the family residing in the south (Travancore). Many seem to suppose that Konga is identical with Chera, but in our opinion it is not. For these two dynasties, Konga and Chera, are separate families. The Kongas having invaded and ruled over a part of Chera, came to be considered as the kings of Chera itself; but several local and circumstantial facts prove the absurdity of this supposition.

CHAP.
I

The very word Konga will show that that dynasty had its origin in the north about Concan.

The names of the kings of the Konga dynasty greatly differ from those of the Chera. The names and titles of the kings of the former dynasty are so unlike those of the Cheras, that it is impossible to suppose that Malla Deva, Trivicrama Deva, Kumara Deva, Givuda Deva, &c., men with titles mostly of Canarese origin were kings of Chera.

It is also noteworthy that the name Kongani Vurmah is often applied to the Konga kings, and not even once to the Cheras. The word Kongani, we find, is used in naming the inhabitants of Concan; for instance, the whole community who emigrated from Canara to Malabar and settled at Cochin, Alleppy, &c., &c., is called Kongani.

All the great deeds, sasanams, as well as stone inscriptions of this early period given by Chera kings, begin with Sree Veera *Kerala* Chakravathy, or Chera Marven Thribhuvana Chakravathy, while all the Konga deeds of grants, &c., begin with Sree Veera *Raya* Chakravathy.

The word *Raya*, which appears along with the names of all Konga kings and which does not even in a single instance appear with the names of either the *Kerala* or Chera kings, is an additional proof of the former being Canarese. The word also often occurs in the names of the people of the north Canarese and Telugu countries. The king of Chera has for his title

CHAP.
I.

Kulasekhara Perumal, which is a title borne by the Mandala kings as already said, but such an appellation could scarcely be found in other countries or in that part of the Chera country which was assumed by the Konga Rajakal.

It is also to be observed that in the southern part of Chera, no Konga inscriptions are to be found in any of the temples or other places, while there are many inscriptions connected with the Chera grants. That Chera and Konga are not one, has been maintained by the Revd. Mr. Taylor in his addendum to the translation of the Konga Desa Rajakal.*

This conclusion is supported by the statement of Cumper, a Tamil Poet, attached to the court of Chola, who flourished in the 7th century and who is the author of the popular Tamil work called Cumper Ramayana. This Poet defines the boundaries of the Chera and Konga possessions separately in his poem, and states that Chera is the kingdom which lies between Pulney, Thencasi, Calicut, and the sea extending over an area of eight hundred miles, while Konga, he points out to be a smaller one, extending to 120 miles and situated within the limits of Thalamalah, Vygavoor, Vallikunnu and Kulithalay.

These two dynasties had their separate capitals; Chera having Salem, Thiruvananthapuram, Chera Maha Devi, Vallihood Kalacaud, &c., in the south Sreevalumcode (Travancore) and Thiruvananthapuram (Trevandrum) Kolicode (Calicut) &c., in the west. The Konga had Scandapuram or Talicaud or Dalavapuram for its capitals. The Revd. W. Taylor observes in his criticism of Mr. Dowson, "that the boundaries given "by Professor Wilson and quoted from Dowson (Des. "Cata. Int., p. 62) may be allowed to pass as a general "approximation, only supposing that Chera and Konga, have been at some period one. It begs "however the question, because it proceeds on the

* Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. 7.

"assumption, in the catalogue, that the Konga Desa CHAP.
I.
 "Rajakal is a history of the Chera Rajahs; which
 "I submit it is not; but only of a few rulers of
 "Konganaud before the latter was conquered by
 "the Chola kings. I cannot submit to Dr. Francis
 "Buchanan's authority, unless I were assured that he
 "too has not confounded Konganaud and Chera Desa
 "together."

A further proof is the caste of the two dynasties. The Konga Rajahs belong to the Reddy caste, while the Chera kings are Kshatrias; a fact to be borne in mind, as we shall have to speak of it hereafter.

Konga, we see, was conquered by the Cholas, Oissallas, Hari Hara Raya dynasty and Veeranarasinga Raya dynasty. And in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D., we find that the Konga kings Narasinga II., (1237—1278) and Hari Hara Raya, (1367—1391) exacted tribute from the Chera or Kerala kings. This proves that the Chera dynasty had not become extinct, but that it existed in its southern possessions of Kerala (Travancore) in the 13th and 14th centuries, and retained the name Chera. The list of sovereigns in the Travancore calendar also bears testimony to this fact.

The remnant of the Chera kingdom appears to be then extended to the Mysore Frontier on the north, the District of Salem on the east, the Travancore coast up to Calicut on the north-west, as described by Mr. Dowson in his account of Chera. This was the latter kingdom of Chera called Travancore, in our opinion.

It must have been at this period that the old Chera was finally incorporated with Travancore and its original name Chera forgotten.

Now Chera is generally recognized as Kerala or Travancore. Many eminent, ancient and modern authors indiscriminately use the one for the other. In his manuscript translation Mr. Taylor often writes

CHAP. I. Chera for Travancore* and vice versa. In the collections from the Asiatic Journals, page 484, the same use of the term is made. Other facts can be adduced in favor of this view.

Almost all the southern possessions of Chera were included in the Travancore dominions till their conquest by the Madura rulers, and from them by the Carnatic Nabob. Several pagodas in Erode, Coimbatore and Tinnevely which were once in the kingdom of Chera have still inscriptions on their granite walls commemorating the names of Chera, and Travancore kings; and besides, there is still a village called "Chera Maha Devi" in the Ambasamudram Talook of the Tinnevely District, where we see, to the present day, the site on which the Chera king's palace once stood. In this locality, there are also villages built and presented to Brahmans by the Chera kings and in the possession of the descendants of the original recipients, deeds of grants are to be found.

In Chera Maha Devi, Thencasi, Kalacaud, Thrikanankudy, Valliyoor, &c., the Travancore Rajahs resided up to the seventeenth century, a fact clearly proved by documents and inscriptions.

Though there are numerous inscriptions of earlier dates in almost all the renowned pagodas between Coimbatore and Tinnevely, we shall notice a few of the later ones, as our object is to prove the amalgamated state of Chera with Travancore, and its continuance in that condition :—

1. An inscription on the inner stone-wall of the Chera Maha Devi Pagoda, dated Malayalam or Kollum year 614 (1439 A.D.) commemorating a grant by the Travancore King Chera Oodiah Marthanda Vurmah to the pagoda at that place while the grantee was residing in the Chera Maha Devi palace.

* Pandya Desam is the Madura country; Sera Desam the Travancore and Malayalam country.

Taylor's Manuscripts Translation, Vol. I., page 51.

"2. ^{644 M.E.}_{1229 A.D.} On the large bell at Thrikanankudy, ^{CHAP.}_{I.} denoting that the bell was presented by the Travancore king Adithiya Vurmah.

"3. ^{688 M.E.}_{1273 A.D.} Commemorating a grant to the pagoda by king Marthanda Vurmah while residing in the Veera Pandyan Palace at Kalacaud.

"4. ^{688 M.E.}_{1273 A.D.} Commemorating a grant of land to the pagoda at Mannarkovil by the same king Marthanda Vurmah, and also making provisions for lighting a lamp in the palace where the king's uncle died.*

"5. ^{707 M.E.}_{1292 A.D.} Commemorating a grant of land to the pagoda of Chera Chola Pandyswaram in Thrikaloor near Alwar Tinnevely, by Marthanda Vurmah, Rajah of Travancore."

We have already said that the king of Travancore is styled "Thirudikel" (sacred feet) to denote his sanctity, and his kingdom "Vanavanaud" (abode of Devas) which was corrupted into Venaud, a term now commonly used for Travancore. The antiquity of this appellation "Thiruadi" is seen from a copper plate in the possession of a Brahman in the village of Chera Maha Devi, one of the old capitals of the Chera king. The history of this plate runs thus: It would seem that a Telugu Brahman, commonly known by the name of Kunnadia, received a donation of a large number of gold coins from the Maha Rajah Prathapa Rudra of Veloor; that this Brahman, by the advice of the sage Agastyar, who resided on a hill in Thiruadi Desam (Travancore), built an anicut (still in existence) across the Thambraverni river, and opened an irrigation canal from that spot to the extent of about twenty-one miles; that with the surplus money he built a sathram at Chera Maha Devi for feeding a certain number of Brahmans daily; and that he

* It is customary in the royal family to keep a lamp continually burning for a long time in the room where the reigning king breathed his last.

CHAP.
I. appointed the holder of the copper plate as the perpetual manager of that institution.

A copy of the copper sasanum in question was procured by us. It purports to have been executed by Narayanappaya of the Kunnadian family of Bharadwaja Gothram (line) of Brahmans, professing the Rig Veda, and who received a donation called Kalapurusha Danum from Maha Rajah Gajapathi Prathapa Rudra Rayer, who reigned at Velloor; that he, the recipient, resolving to perform some charity with the money proceeded to Thrippathi, and on invoking Vencatachala Swamy, obtained that deity's blessing and in accordance with the commands of the swamy, he repaired to the southern kingdom called Thirudi Desam (Travancore country) where on the Malayachala mountain, he met the sage Agastyar by whose order he excavated an irrigation canal for the benefit of the Brahmans: with the surplus money he resolved to institute a sathram for the daily feeding of Brahmans and accordingly constructed a building on the southern banks of the Thambraverni, and on the western side of Chera-Maha-Devi—Alakiyappen Swamy Kovil: Narayana Pillay, the son of Gopala Pillay, Brahman of Sreevatsa Gothram (line), professing the Yajur Veda, and residing in the old village or Brahman hamlet, built by Cheren Perumal Rajah, was entrusted with the management of this sathram, a perpetual grant being made to Narayana Pillay by this copper plate document, executed on Thursday, Shrawava asterism, Punchami Aushada month, Sowmmya Nama year of Kali 8342, (242 A.D.) for the maintenance of the sathram of certain lands purchased for 2587 Kali Yuga Ramen* Madura vella fanams, together with nine slaves of the soil at the rate of one hundred and thirty five-fanams accompanied by a scale of the daily expenditure to be made and mentioning a fixed sum as remuneration to the Superintendent Narayana Pillay.

* One Kali Yuga Ramen fanam is still the currency of Travancore.

The antiquity of this plate may be proved by the wording of the inscription. A Brahman is not called now-a-days Pillay, whereas such a term was used in ancient times. CHAP.
I.

To this sathram, pepper was to be supplied from Travancore as that spice was a produce of that country and could not be obtained without the king's permission. It was given gratis, and in the year 970 M.E. (1795 A.D.), three years previous to his death, the old Rama Rajah ordered a commutation price of one hundred and eighty Kali fanams to be paid to the sathram, which sum is paid to the present time.

Thus we have traced the history of the Travancore dynasty in an unbroken line, from the earliest period, and brought it down through all the four Yugas.

Ignorant of the foregoing history, and dwelling exclusively on local and untrustworthy information, many seem to have labored under mistaken ideas and have been misleading the public as to the antiquity and origin of Travancore, its dynasty, its caste, and its position amongst the present Hindu rulers of Southern India.

In narrating the ancient history of this peculiarly remarkable kingdom, in chronological order, various particulars have been left out, and as such may be interesting to the reader, and may tend to dissipate many false impressions, we shall go back to the earliest period once more.

The general impression in regard to the dynasty of Travancore appears to be that it is the creation of Cheraman Perumal, and that the kingdom was his gift to one of his sons named Veera Keralen from whom the dynasty originated. But no authentic accounts can be found to support this view in any reliable work.

Kerala Ulppathy is the only work which gives any information regarding the kingdom of Keralam, but the greater portion of this work seems to have been derived from Kerala Mahatmyam.

CHAP.
I

Kerala Ulppathy was composed by Thunchathu Ramanujen, commonly known as Ramen Eluthashan, who flourished about the seventeenth century of the Christian Era. This work, like many other Malayalam productions of this renowned author, is a compilation from the Mahatmayam above alluded to.

The original compilation of the author must have had several interpolations and changes made in it, especially as there appear now-a-days copies of several Kerala Ulppathies written in different styles, and each differing from the other in its account of Kerala. In such interpolations, numerous discrepancies and glaring mistakes are visible, for we find the interpolators, in their anxiety to prove the correctness of their accounts, confusing occurrences of modern with those of ancient days. For instance, Cheraman Perumal, who lived and ruled in the fourth century A.D., as recorded even in the version of the Kerala Ulppathy itself, and corroborated by Cona Thoma, an eye witness, is said to have fought with Anagoondy Krishna Row of Beejnuggur. The Beejnuggur dynasty flourished, or rather came into power, only in the ninth century A.D., while Krishna Rayer ruled Southern India in the sixteenth century.

Besides, in this work, many events of Parasu Rama's period have been introduced as if they occurred in the Perumal period.

It is obvious that on such a work as the Kerala Ulppathy, little reliance can be placed. But, however, we will try to sift out the trustworthy portion of its contents, and chronicle briefly the origin of the Perumal period.

It would appear that after the retirement of Parasu Rama from Keralam, the Brahmans rose in power, shook off the yoke of the Kerala kings and commenced their own rule within the limits of their sixty-four gramams. In the first century B.C., the people of the sixty-four gramams convened a congress and after holding a consultation, resolved to establish four

divisions of their gramams, called Kalakams which CHAP.
I
division they denominated—Parinchaloor, Payennoor, Parppoor and Chenganiyoor respectively. Thus, the Brahmanical possession within the gramams was ruled for a very long time. But owing to dissension amongst them, anarchy and misrule prevailed, and the Brahmans again resolved to have a President called Rakshapumshen, appointed to each of these four Kalakams, for a term of three years. This form of rule continued for a considerably long period, and these Presidents who were also called Numpies (trustees), were paid at the rate of one-sixth of the produce of the land. But considering that they had each only three years tenure of office they availed themselves of their position to amass wealth for themselves and thus brought on ruinous results. The Brahman community finally resolved to introduce a system of elective Government and to appoint a ruler for a term of twelve years, but disputes having arisen at the election, they at last determined to apply to the king Cheren or Keralen and so proceeded to Ceyapuram (Coimbatore) and brought from thence a Viceroy called Ceya Perumal to Keralam.

The name of this Perumal, the Kerala Ulppathy says, was "*Cheraman Keralen*" a Kshatria, and he was the king of Malanaud (Malayalam). The date of his installation is said in the work, according to a certain astronomical mode of calculation, to have been in the Kali year 3316 (216 A.D.) It further observes that in all twenty-five Perumals ruled over Keralam. The last Perumal finished his rule as stated in this work, in Kali year 3528 (428 A.D.) and so the Perumal period we may consider to have been two hundred and twelve years.

Even in the Kerala Ulppathy, it is not said that the Travancore dynasty was descended from the Perumal or that the kingdom of Travancore was a gift from Cheraman to the present dynasty, neither does it say that the king of Travancore was a Sudra. We

CHAP. I. wonder therefore how, and upon what authority, the authors of the "Land of the Perumals" and the "Land of Charity" and other learned writers state that the Rajah of Travancore is a Sudra. If these authors will but search the Sanscrit works, wherein an account of Kerala or even of any other kingdoms in Southern India is given, they will be obliged to acknowledge that they are in the wrong as no mention is made therein as regards the caste of the Travancore sovereigns except that they are Soma Vamsa Kshatrias.

In the Kerala Ulppathy itself will be found, on careful examination, that the Travancore and Kolathnaud dynasties were in existence at the close of Cheraman's rule, and that Cheraman had simply recognized those dynasties but did not make a grant of the kingdom to them.

In the days of Parasu Rama and during the sway of the Travancore Kulasekhara Perumals as Emperors of Keralam, several local chieftains appear to have been nominated, partly by Parasu Rama himself, and partly by the Kerala emperor to assist him in the administration. So these chieftains were all holding their various possessions at the beginning of the Perumal viceroyalty.

The very fact of the Brahmins asking for a Viceroy from the king of Chera and that monarch appointing a Perumal (a member of his own family) as Viceroy, proves that the king of Chera was the legitimate owner of Keralam.

Kerala Ulppathy mentions the names of Pandya and Chola Perumals at intervals acting as Viceroys during the Viceregal period of two hundred and odd years. This may be correct, as there had been often wars between Chera, Chola and Pandya, and these three kingdoms have been ruled alternately by those powers, and hence perhaps the cause of the appointment of Viceroys from those kingdoms. Though there have been such changes of rule in the Chera country, the title of the Viceroys in Keralam was unchanged

all along, as will be seen from the fact that the first and last Perumals retained the title of "Cheraman Perumals" they being members of the Chera royal family, for, as said above, the Kerala Ulppathy states that the first Perumal was from Ceyapuram (Coimbatore), and his name was "Cheraman Keralan" and that he was a Kshatria. The name of the last Cheraman Perumal was Bhaskara Revi Vurmah also a Kshatria by caste. Revi Vurmah and Kerala Vurmah are names borne generally by the members of the Travancore royal family. In the Cochin Rajah's family, which is believed to be descended from the last Perumal, such names are also commonly found.

CHAP.
I.

Neither the Kerala Ulppathy nor any other work shows that the Travancore sovereign had ever been subject to the rule of the Perumals. On the other hand, the Perumals considered the sovereigns of Travancore as their superior authority.

Local and traditional information appears to have misled a good Sanscrit scholar, Pachu Moothathu, alluded to in the Preface; he has fallen into an error, as it would seem from his small pamphlet in the Malayalam language published by him in the Malayalam year 1043, wherein he says that the kingdom of Travancore was established under the auspices of Cheraman Perumal, that it was given as a gift to his son Veera Kerala Vurmah by his third wife in the Kali year 3412 (311 A.D.), and that since then the kingdom flourished. If he had only taken the trouble he would have found that Cheraman Perumal was installed in his vice-regal office not before the Kali year 3445, as has been shown. We do not know upon what authority our author has arrived at such an extraordinary conclusion. We have already shown that the kingdom of Travancore was in existence on the advent of the Perumals. The author appears to be laboring under a mistaken idea when he asserts that Cheraman Perumal is an individual title and that he was a king. He seems to have been ignorant of the

CHAP. I. fact that Cheraman Perumal is the name of the Viceroy sent out to Keralam by the king of Chera to govern his Kerala Province. The only inference one can draw from the author's erroneous statement is that he, like many other Sanscrit and Tamil authors of Southern India and especially of Keralam, derived his data, in composing his work, from local and hearsay information, embellishing it with ideas and statements supplied by his own imagination, a practice common among Sanscrit authors.

In Keralam, Cheraman Perumal was reckoned as the greatest and the most powerful emperor in the realm. He was a pure Kshatria of the solar race and to connect a royal family with such a personage was thought to be the highest honor in Keralam as was the case with the Cochin royal family. Consequently, under such an impression, our author must have composed his work. The Sanscrit scholars in Keralam generally begin their education from their earliest years. After mastering a little Grammar, they are taught the Kavyems, *i. e.*, poetical compositions founded upon the Puranas. In this study, they are made to pay attention to Grammar and none at all to facts. From Kavyem, the scholar turns to the study of the Natakum, Dramatical works, and afterwards to the Alumkaram and Tharkam, Logic and Rhetoric. When these studies are over, the scholar considers that he has completed his Sanscrit education and is perfect in all knowledge. He then begins to compose Shlokams (stanzas), not on facts, but simply upon fiction, as his ideas suggest to him. Acquiring at the same time a Puranic knowledge, he tries to become an author, and begins to write basing all his conclusions on his own fancies, while he is utterly ignorant of Geography or History. He draws profusely on the Puranic accounts of animals speaking, horses drawing chariots in the air, or going on wings in the firmament, and so forth. He is unable to speak as to historic facts which every man of intelligence ought to know, neither can he say how far the land he lives in, extends, and what nations

inhabit the various countries of the world. But he is able to tell in a minute the names of the fifty-six kingdoms in the Bharatha Khandam. He would also repeat the names of the kings who ruled those kingdoms in the past three Yugams (ages), and the commencement of the present Kali Yugam so far as the Puranas describe them and beyond that he can go no further. He knows nothing of modern history and the existence of the European kingdoms and their kings, since the Puranas do not treat of them, neither does he know much of his own land nor any modern accounts concerning it. He is ignorant of the early visits of foreigners to India such as the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. He is in the dark as to who Alexander the Great was, when he lived, what were his achievements, and when he visited India; neither is he aware of the rule in India, of the Nunda, Mourya, Chalookya, Kalabhoorya, Chola, Chera, Pandya, Kadamba, Belala Raya and other dynasties, the Mohamedan conquest and rule, and lastly, the extraordinary enterprise of a handful of English merchants and their wonderful military exploits, by which they finally became the masters of this vast empire. To obtain such information and knowledge, English education is the easiest road, and a Sanscrit scholar of the present day, without any knowledge of English cannot, shine as an author of a useful work and procure the approbation of the public by a work like that composed by Pachu Moothathu.

Though we have clearly shown the origin of the Travancore dynasty citing unquestionable authorities, yet for the satisfaction of Pachu Moothathu, as well as of A. Sashiah Sastri, C.S.I., the late Dewan of Travancore, who, confiding in the statements of Pachu Moothathu sanctioned the publication of erroneous accounts in the English calendar of Travancore for the year 1877, we shall give further evidence and proof to show that the Travancore king was in existence and in power on the advent of the Perumals.

CHAP.

I

The ancient copper plates in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Cottayam and the Jews of Cochin (copies of which with reliable translations have been published in the *Madras Literary and Asiatic Journals of Science and Literature*, No. 30, pages 116 to 164) contain grants which were made by three of the Cheraman Perumals, including the last Perumal Bhaskara Revi Vurmah. They shew that the Perumals considered the king of Travancore the first sovereign in Keralam, so much so that the three Perumals, viz., Sree Veera Raghava Perumal, Sthanu Revi Guptha Perumal, and Sree Bhaskara Revi Vurmah Perumal (the last of these is the one commonly called the Cheraman Perumal), whose names the copper plates bear, invariably bring the name of the king of Travancore as the first power to witness their deeds; nay, one of them Sthanu Revi Guptha says that "that document, was executed with the sanction of the Travancore sovereign," and in making allusion to the king, uses the honorific term "Vanaud Iyeen Adikel Tiruadikel." The prefix "Iyeen" denotes the superior authority of the king.¹ In these ancient copper plates the names of all the subordinate chiefs are introduced with the exception of those of the Cochin Rajah and the Zamorin, who were therefore not then chiefs at all, i. e., at the time when the documents were executed by the Perumals.

As the Cochin Rajah was the creature of the Perumal and is said to have been his heir² as authoritatively acknowledged, that Rajah could not have been in power at the time, a fact which the Jewish plate fully corroborates. The Eranadu mentioned in the document cannot be accepted as being the Zamorin of Calicut, if we are to place any reliance in the versions of the Kerala Ulppathy wherein it is distinctly said that

1. The Travancore king is still called Venad Adigal "the adorable feet of Venadu." *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. 30, page 130.

2. Cochin Administration Report for 1875, page 4.

the Zamorin was created by the last Perumal who granted him his own sword and two small pieces of ground called Colicode and Chullicaud and invested him with regal power (Kerala Ulppathy, pages 42 and 43.)

CHAP.
I

There appears to have been a good deal of discussion as to the dates of these documents, as well as to the use of such words as Anjuwannam and Manigramam in these plates. I think it will not be out of place here to say a few words on these relics of an ancient period. We find on consulting a learned Astronomer of Travancore, that the date of the first document is Kali year 3331 (230 A.D.) This was found by an astronomical process, calculated from the data given in the first document, the working of which cost no small labor to the Astronomer. The period and date specified in the plate is 21st Meenam, Saturday, Rohini Asterism, Jupiter in Capricornus. This phenomenon occurs once in 12 years. From this current Kali year, the Astronomer calculated back to the first day of the Kali year, and from that day he calculated forwards and ascertained the year in which Jupiter was in Capricornus on the 21st of the month of Meenam, Saturday, Rohini Asterism, and by this process, he fixed the Kali year 3331 to be the date on which all the given conditions were found to exist. From this, it may be inferred that this document was executed by the successor of the first Perumal Cheraman Keralen,* for the date given in the Kerala Ulppathy of the installation of Ceya Perumal is Kali year 3316 (216 A.D.), so that this document was executed fourteen years after the commencement of the Perumal Viceroyalty.

The author finds that the calculation of the Astronomer agrees with that of Kookel Keloo Nair, the late Munsiff of Calicut, as published in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. 5, No. 9, New Series.

* Kerala Ulppathy, page 10, Cotteyarn C. M. Press, Edit., 1863.

CHAP.

I

Plate No. I shows that Veera Kerala Chackravathy was the first of the line, and the rule of this dynasty existed without interruption for many hundred thousands of years. Now in the face of this valuable evidence can any other power in Keralam claim having originated the title of Veera Kerala than the Chera or Travancore dynasty. It would be ridiculous to say that the title Veera Kerala belonged to the Cochin dynasty, whose origin is shown by the Kerala Ulppathy and corroborated by the Copper Plate No. 3, as well as the Cochin Administration Report to have been from the Perumal period.

Our account of Manigramam and Anjuwannam varies materially from those of numerous other writers. We think that Manigramam is a distinction given to the Syrian Christians by the Perumals, as they were then regarded as a class of respectable people. Parasu Rama divided Keralam into sixty-four Brahman "gramams" each having a particular name, but to the new community of Syrians, the second Perumal must have granted a gramam, denominated Manigramam, with the title of a Principality* as a distinctive name, the head of the community being invested with the dignity of citizenship. Mani in Tamil means a gem and is applied to all things of peculiar excellence. We find from the copy of the plate in Tamil inserted in the abovementioned Journal the following:—"Makothayer Pattanathoo Eravicorttenaya Cheramaneloka Peroomchattikoo Manigramaypatam Kooduthome" the literal translation of which is:—"We have granted to Eravi Cortten of Makothaperpatnom, the grand merchant of Cheraman world, the high office of Manigramamship." "Pattum" is a word used both in Tamil and in Malayalam and, according to Bailey's Malayalam Dictionary, means "ordination" "a high office or dignity."

* Still I thought myself justified in calling Manigramam a Christian Principality. The Revd. Pest, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, No. 30, page 146.

The translation of this plate by the Rev. H. Gundert as given in page 118 of the Journal appears to be correct, but with a slight difference. Mr. Gundert's translation is :—" We have given to Eravi Cortten of Maha Deverpatnam (henceforward to be called grand merchant of the Cheraman world) the lordship of Manigramam." CHAP. I.

The original settlements of the Syrian community appear to have been at Makothayerpatnam, near the port of Cranganore, and Curakkeni Kollum at Quilon. This community continue to this day to call themselves the residents of Curakkeni Kollum and Makothayerpatnam. This last name may be linked with that of the Chera king styled Makothayer, as we find it stated in the Tamil Peria Purana, a celebrated work very popular in the Tamil countries, that the Chera king named Makothayer lived at Thiru Vunjeecolum, near Kodungalore, and ruled the Malanaud (Malayalam country) with great success, for a considerable length of time. Hence we conclude that a town near Kodungalore, must have been established in honor of this king under the name of Makothayerpatnam and probably it was there that the Syrian community established themselves at first.*

In like manner, the author is of opinion that Anjuwarnam, alluded to in the plate in possession of the Cochin Jews, is a distinction given to the Jews. Warnam is not here intended for colour as the Jews understand it, but caste. There were already four Warnams, Brahmans, Kshatrias, Vysias, and Sudras. The Jews, when they came to Keralam, were considered as a peculiar nation, and the Brahmans and others

* "Curakkeni Kollum." Tradition states that the Syrians came to this country in two bodies, one party landed near the modern Quilon at a place now engulfed by the sea, the other at Kodungalore or Maha Deverpatnam. The practice in documents observed till within the last 80 years was invariably to mark to which of these two bodies a Syrian belonged." Madras Journal of Literature and Science, No. 30, page 146.

The Revd. Peet of Mavalikaray.

CHAP.
I.

seeing their strict observances of religious rites and knowing not how to designate them, styled them Anjuwarnam, that is, the fifth caste. This, the last Perumal had publicly recognized in his grant by the third copper plate, creating one of the community as the head of their village. Plate No. 2 supports the conclusion that Anjuwarnam is a title of the Jewish Principality.

In Keralam the carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith and brazier castes are all collectively called Nanku Warnum, (four sorts of castes.)

The Lubbays (Mahomedans) of the South, prefix Anjuwarnam to their names in all their deeds and documents. This the author thinks is a continuance of the Jewish designation adopted by the Southern Mahomedans, who must have been converts from the Jewish faith after the establishment of Mahomedanism in South Keralam.

The plates are properly arranged in the Journal No. 30. The last document was executed in the Kali year 3481, and Dr. Day seems to be correct in his calculations in this respect.

Cheraman Perumal assumed his viceregal power, according to the Keral Ulppathy and other accounts, in the Kali year 3445 (345 A.D.), and the copper plate document referred to above was executed in the 36th year of his reign. The "Yadir" 2nd year, mentioned in the plate, is not a cycle as has been supposed by many, but we conclude it to be the second century of the Perumal period, for this agrees with the fact that the Perumal period commenced in 216 A.D.; 100 years afterwards ends the first century of the reign of the Perumals. The last Perumal having come to the viceroyalty in 345 A.D. naturally wrote the document or rather executed it in the second century of the Perumal period, and in the 36th year of his rule in the Kali year 3481.*

* "Land of Perumals," page 342.

By the peculiar mode of calculating dates on astronomical principles in India, errors are very seldom likely to occur. For in a work, or in a stanza, a particular sentence is laid down for discovering the date on which such work or stanza was produced, and the calculation is made entirely by an astronomical process, every letter being numbered agreeably to the rules of Astronomy.

CHAP.
I.

Primary education throughout Keralam commences with a study of the elements of Astronomy, and till the youth is taught Kavyem, his time is exclusively devoted to astronomical problems, and he thus learns to calculate the exact time of the rising of the sun, moon and stars. Even during the grammatical and Kavyem studies he is continually taught calculations regarding the planets and soon acquires the knowledge of finding out the dates of eclipses. Under these circumstances, the astronomical calculation of the Natives is considered to be generally correct and seldom wrong.

Thus we have cited additional proof that the dynasty of Travancore existed before the Perumal period; that the southern-most part of Keralam now known as Travancore, was not a division made at the time in favour of the Travancore dynasty; and that the origin of Travancore cannot be dated from the Kali year 3412, as Pachu Moothathu and the compiler of the Travancore calendar would have us believe.

Another fact deducible from these documents is, that the statement in the Kerala Ulppathy regarding the division of Kerala by the last Perumal is without foundation and here we cannot do better than quote the opinion of the learned Malayalam scholar, Dr. Gundert, on this important point:—

“ That whole part of the Kerala Ulppathy in which the present dynasties of Malayalam are represented as dating their origin from the last Perumal’s distribution of the country, is fully disproved by this and the Jewish document, and the relation of the Kerala

CHAP. I. "Mahatmyam, according to which the several families
 "were placed here and there by Parasu Rama for the
 "purpose of protecting certain temples and Brahmin
 "villages, comes much nearer to the truth, if we
 "understand by Parasu Rama the old time of Brah-
 "manical rule."

Indeed the Kerala Ulppathy is the only work which gives any account regarding Keralam down to the modern period, the Kerala Mahatmyam treating exclusively of Parasu Rama's period. Of this period, we have no other accounts whatever. The Kerala Mahatmyam says that Parasu Rama appointed a Samunda, as manager, to almost every pagoda in Keralam. The families of these governors of the temples assumed power in course of time, and became petty chiefs under the supreme sovereign, the king of Travancore, whom Parasu Rama had invited and installed as already shown. The families of these Kshatrias are still called Kovil Adhikarikel or Kovil of whom the Cochin Rajah is one. This Rajah's caste name is Koviladhikarikal or Kovil,* and in issuing his writ he adopts that designation. All the Kshatria families of his caste who are now found in Keralam, divested of royalty, are called Thirupaud.†

While we have histories of the Pandya and Chola kingdoms, we have no separate history of Chera apart from Kerala, a fact which proves that Chera being embodied with Kerala, a history of the former is unnecessary, and consequently the Kerala Mahatmyam and Kerala Ulppathy give only the history of Kerala.

In the Kerala Mahatmyam, as well as in the Halassya Mahatmyam, Kshatrias are called Samanthas, and allusions to the king of Chera and Kerala are often made as Samanthas. The newly created Numboory Brahmans, who are mostly residents of the locality

* Kerala Palama, pages 78 and 114.

† The Schatriya or (Thirripaud, Mal.) or royal caste is that from which His Highness the Rajah of Cochin has sprung. "Land of Perumala," page 312.

between Quilon and Korempulay, within which limits lay the sixty-four gramams established by Parasu Rama, seemed to have had no free intercourse with the royal family of Travancore, whose capital was originally established at Kerala Puram which subsequently was called by Parasu Rama, Sree Vardahana Puram popularly known as Padmanabha Puram. CHAP.
I.

In the division of castes by Parasu Rama, he does not appear to have aimed at anything like completeness, as he left the sections of the minor castes alone. But in the subsequent modifications by the renowned Sankara Acharyar,* there was established a particular class of people known by the name of *Samanther*, a degraded section of the pure Kshatrias who are found residing here and there between Quilon and Kolathnaud. These are also called Pandala, Unniayathiri, Thirupaud, &c., &c., according to the locality in which they reside.

The name of *Samantha* is mistaken for *Samanther*, and the Travancore family was considered by the ignorant to be included in the latter class. The Puranas describe two classes of Kshatrias, as has been already shown, viz., Soorya, Samantha, and Soma Samantha: but in our opinion the former are now not to be found in Southern India, though the Cochin Rajah is generally called a Soorya Kshatria. Kerala Mahatmyam calls the Cochin Rajah a Soorya Samantha, but the present dynasty having been descended from Cheraman Perumal, who being a member of the Chera family is a Soma Samantha, cannot be considered a Soorya Samantha, as is generally believed, and it consequently follows that the present dynasty of Cochin cannot be the same as that mentioned in the Mahatmyam.

Cheraman Perumal being a member of the Chera dynasty which is the same as that of Travancore, the

* Sankara Acharyar was born in Kerala and his mother's family is still in existence at Paloor near Poravem. This mendicant devotee's residence is still preserved in the neighbourhood of Alwaye.

CHAP.
I.

caste of the Cochin Rajah must of course be the same as that of the Travancore royal family, as the original stock was both one and the same.

Almost all the caste rites and observances of the Travancore and Cochin royal families are similar with the exception of marriage. The former adhere to the original custom of marrying their females to a Kshatria, whereas the latter have adopted the system of marrying their females to Numboory Brahmans. Both of these modes are sanctioned by the Sastras.

There is scarcely any difference in the observances of the Shodasa Kriya (sixteen ceremonies to be performed from birth up to marriage) between the Brahmans and the Kshatrias. These ceremonies are duly performed by the Travancore and Cochin royal families. The male members of both families wear the Brahmanical emblem called Poonunool.

A *Samanthren* of the class alluded to, cannot wear the Poonunool. For instance, the Zamorin being a Samanther is not permitted to wear the Brahmanical thread. He cannot, by caste observances, even touch a Brahman or Kshatria without the taint of contamination. Whereas the royal families of Travancore and Cochin, being both Kshatrias, move among and associate freely with the highest class of Numboory Brahmans and both have as their menial servants Numboories and other Brahmans.

The names of the male members of the Travancore royal family and those of the Cochin house are similar, and there is the striking fact that the name of Veera Kerala Vurmah, the first king of Kerala, is adopted by the Cochin dynasty on its coming to power.

That Veera Kerala was the name of the first Emperor of Keralam, who was of the Chera dynasty, has been already proved by various authorities. A modern writer (Kookel Kelao Nair Munsiff) observes in his memorandum to the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, that "it is difficult to learn the clear history of the family of Veera Kerala, but from various



VEERA KERALA VURMAH KALI YEAR 3412. (311 A.D.)

"Sanskrit and other works such as the Mahatmyam, Ulppathy, and others, it appears pretty clearly, if we reject obvious fables, that Parasu Rama, a Brahman, eventually gained possession of the country from Veera Kerala's descendants and after improving it to a great extent, introduced therein his own caste people to whom he ultimately committed its government."

CHAP.

I

Dr. Gundert, a generally acknowledged authority, is of the same opinion that Kerala was the appellation belonging to Chera (Travancore). He says that Cheraman is the name of the whole dynasty of Chera or Kerala rulers, for these two names are the same. Kerala being only the Canarese pronunciation as appears from the Deccan inscriptions of W. Elliot, Esq., in which no Chera is associated with Pandya and Chola but only a Kerala."

The failure in discerning the difference between the two words *Samantha* and *Samanther* has created a confusion in the minds of the people of Kerala, as has been already shown. It is generally the case that people are easily led away and deceived by first impressions without taking the trouble to analyze facts and ascertain their accuracy. We often find that writers rely much upon local accounts and regard them as being a chronicle of indisputable facts. For instance, Fra. Bartolomeo, a well informed writer on South Indian affairs, who had been residing in Travancore for a period of 13 years, says, in his work that "before Veera Marthanda undertook his expedition, he celebrated at Tiroovanadapuram a horrid festival which I have described in my *Systema Brahminacum*; he had caused several of the pagan temples to be burnt, and this crime, one of the most heinous according to the principles of the Indians, could not otherwise be atoned for, than by a very peculiar kind of purification. He was obliged by the Brahmins to get a cow made of gold, under which he was forced to creep in order to be freed from his sins.

CHAP. I. "Niebuhr and Anquetil du Perron are therefore in
 "great error when they assert that the object of this
 "ceremony was to raise the king to the degree of
 "nobility. Both these authors ought to have reflected
 "that this tale was invented by the conquered people (to
 "whom the king behaved with great severity), merely
 "for the purpose of ridiculing him. The above golden
 "cow was preserved in the year 1787 in the royal
 "treasury at Padmanabhapoorum. I was at least told
 "so by M'Donardi, a Captain in the King's service
 "who had seen it."

This account of the Hirannya Garbham ceremony is surely incorrect as will be seen further on.

The notion, that by the performance of the Hirannya Garbham, an individual or a family would be raised in rank and caste, is simply ridiculous. A Sudra or a Samanther could not be raised to the rank of a Kshatria by any such process. If such a wished-for change could be effected, every rich and influential Sudra would have been raised to the rank of a Kshatria, and some of the Kshatrias would have thought of transforming themselves into members of the twice-born class, Brahmins.

The Zamorin Rajah, who had become himself Nadivirippu and latterly very powerful, and the richest among the Malabar sovereigns, would have been the first to avail himself of this means of becoming a Kshatria. He was highly influential in his kingdom, where almost all the great Numboory Brahmins such as Aloovancherry, Narary, Poovooly, and Kanhgnoor and other priestly jemmies were residing, and besides, the Zamorin proclaimed himself as the head of the sovereigns in Keralam in order to superintend the great national ceremony held at Theroonawaye called Maha Makhum. It must, therefore, have been to the interest of the Brahmins themselves to raise him, if possible, to a higher caste particularly as the Zamorin had to mingle much with the Brahmins during that festival.

It is said that the pure Kshatria is he who is born ^{CHAP. I} of parents of the Kshatria caste. He who is born of a Kshatria mother but by a Brahman father is a Soma Samantha or Soma Kshatria so that though the race of the Travancore royal house was of the latter description (Soma Samantha), yet it maintains a higher degree of purity in its marriage relations than does the Cochin Rajah and, therefore, in the social scale, the Travancore royal family may be considered better Kshatrias than those in the north.

So the king of Travancore does not appear to stand in need of performing any ceremonies to raise him either in dignity, or in caste and rank. Hirannya Garbham and Padma Garbham are two great danams (donations) which the kings of Travancore are bound by their religion to perform as coronation ceremonies. King Veera Kerala Vurmah, who reigned in the Kali year 3412, performed both of the costly ceremonies called Thulapurusha danam and Hirannya Garbha danam, at his coronation.

Tradition shews that on the 12th Magarom 3412, of the Kali year, corresponding with the 24th January 811, A.D., king Veera Kerala Vurmah, after assembling all the Brahmans of the several gramams, both Chowara Koor and Pannara Koor, and the family priest Tharanallore Numboory Paud, performed these important ceremonies, and was crowned by that high priest according to the rules of the Sastras, and, in accordance with the canon laid down by Sree Parasu Rama, he assumed the family titles of Kireetapathi and Kulasekhara Perumal.

A brief and clear account of the two ceremonies, Thulapurusha danam and Hirannya Garbha danam, will be given further on as many erroneous notions are prevalent in regard to the character and real object of these two ceremonies.

Thulapurusha danam is a ceremony performed by weighing the body of the king against an equal weight

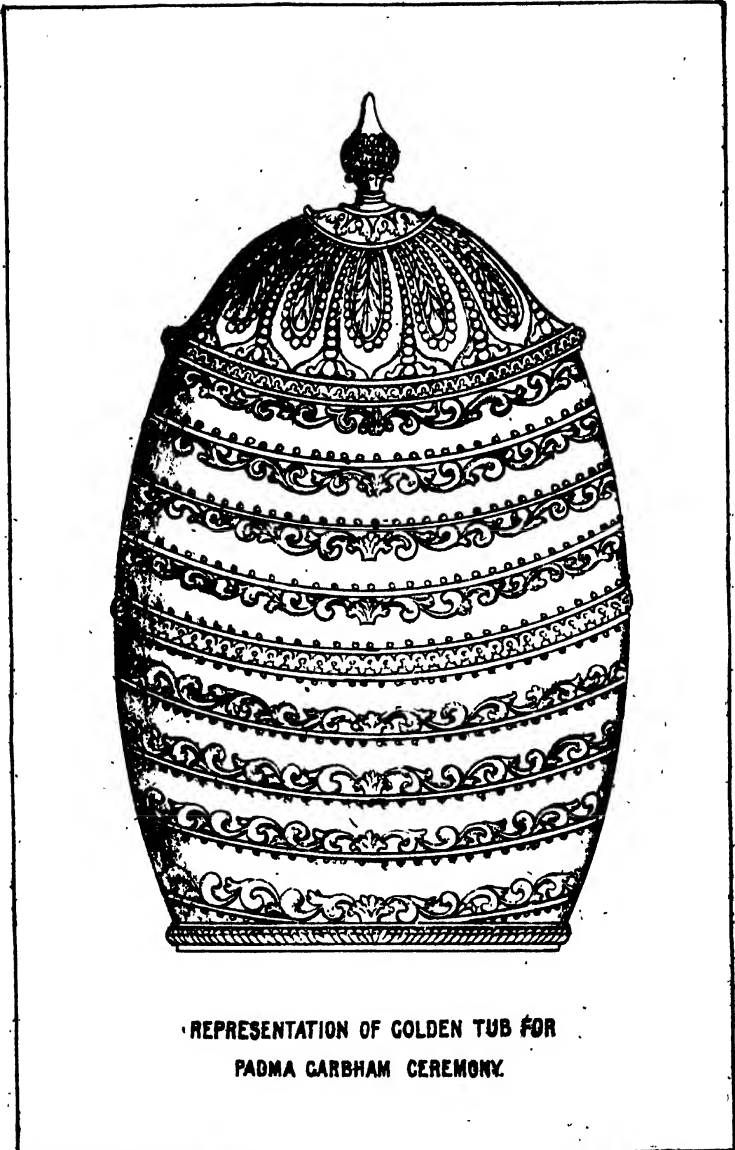
CHAP. in gold, and distributing the same, among Brahmins.*
I. For this purpose the required quantity of gold is procured, and after purifying it, it is coined in different sizes and weights with the inscription "Sree Padmanabha," the appellation of Vishnu and the household deity of the Travancore king, on one side.

A pair of ornamental scales of sufficient size is next constructed, and on the appointed day, the sovereign proceeds to the temple of "Sree Padmanabha Swamy," attended by all the learned Brahmins, not only of Travancore, but also of other parts of Malabar, Tinnevely, Madura, &c., some of whom are specially invited while the rest crowd to the capital for the occasion. After the assembled Brahmins have performed the ceremonies according to the Vedas, the sovereign is seated on one of the scales, and the coined gold is heaped on the other till it rests on the ground and the other scale is raised into the air with the king. After the performance of this ceremony, the gold coins are distributed among the Brahmins, males, females and children. There is a difference in the weight of the coins given; learned Brahmins and such others have a more valuable coin than ordinary Brahmins, while children and females have coins of less value. To determine who are the proper men to receive valuable gifts there is a regular examination of the Brahmins in their knowledge of the Vedas, and those who pass successfully reap a good harvest. This ceremony and the distribution of the gold coins last about a week, during which time the Brahmins are sumptuously fed.

"Hirannya† Garbham or Padma Garbha danam" is a costly ceremony like the other, but performed

* *Sevjee's Coronation.* "He now determined to satisfy his pride and dazzle his followers by a formal coronation, modelled upon that of the Mogul, in which the weighing against gold and other childish ceremonies were not omitted. Gifts to an immense value bestowed on the Brahmins, gave lustre to this, as well as to several other political festivals." *Murray's History of British India*, page 258.

† *Note.*—In Sanscrit, *Hirannya* is gold, and *Garbham*, belly or inside, and so the real meaning of these words is "Golden womb."



REPRESENTATION OF GOLDEN TUB FOR
PADMA GARBHAM CEREMONY.

by the greatest of Emperors only at their coronation. A vessel in the shape of a lotus flower, ten feet high and eight feet in circumference is made of pure gold, with a cover in the form of a crown, somewhat in the shape of a "Prize Cup," and this is half filled with punchagavyum, water mixed up with ghee, milk, and other substances; and the Brahmans perform their devotional prayers and hymns over the vessel according to the canon of the Vedas. The king, after performing his devotions, approaches the place where the vessel is kept, accompanied by all the high priests, Brahmans of note and learning in Malabar, Tinnevely, Madura, Canara, &c., and gets into the golden vessel by means of a beautifully lined ladder, expressly made for the purpose. When His Highness enters it, the cover is put on and he dips himself into the holy water five times, while all the assembled priests and Brahmans continue praying and chanting Vedic hymns. This ceremony lasts about ten minutes, after which the king comes out of the vessel by the same ladder and after going through certain other ceremonies prostrates himself before the image of Sree Padmanabha Swamy, when the high priest, who is the chief celebrant of the ceremonies, and who acts the part of a bishop, takes the crown and placing it on the king's head pronounces the title "Kulasekhara Perumal." The place then resounds with Vedic recitations, prayers and hymns from the learned Brahmans. These ceremonies account for the Travancore kings being styled in Malayalam and Tamil "Ponnu Thumpooran" (Golden King). In giving an account of this ceremony, we cannot do better than quote in *extenso* a small pamphlet published in 1870, on this subject by "A Travancorean."

THE GREAT TULAPURUSHADANAM.

“His Highness Rama Vurmah, G.C.S.I., Maharajah of Travancore, has performed the “great Tulapurushadānam,” or, as it is more commonly termed Tulabharam, a ceremony, which five of his immediate predecessors have, without interruption, and several others before them, performed. Tulapurushadānam is a compound of three Sanskrit words;—Tula (scales), Purusha (man), and dānam (gift particularly of a religious character). The chief part of the ceremony is the donation of a human figure of equal weight with the donor. But on account of the evident impracticability of constructing a figure on the same day of weighing, a small gold plate with the effigy of the donor raised in relief on it, is given along with the whole quantity of gold. It will be perceived that in the Sanskrit word explained above there is no mention whatever of the precious metal which forms the subject of donation. There is abundant proof that, in Malayālam at any rate, Tulabhāram is often performed with other substances than gold. In several Pagodas people perform it as a vow with sugar, molasses, sandal-wood, gingely-seed, pepper, plantain fruits, brinjals, &c. The Maharajah of Travancore of the same name as the present ruler, who reigned forty years, was a contemporary of George III, and was Tippu Sultan's enemy, performed a golden Tulabhāram in the beginning of his reign and a silver Tulabhāram by about the end of it. It may, however, be well conceived that, in the instance of a sovereign Prince, and granting that the ceremony takes place only once in his life as a matter of duty, the requirements of dignity and reputation among a people proverbially fond of splendour and magnificence, if not the strict prescription of religion, would

“ render it necessary that the most precious substance CHAP. I
 “ obtainable should be adopted. Religion itself pre-
 “ scribes gold as the highest order of merit among the
 “ various substances with which the Tulabhāram
 “ may be performed.”

“ The Tulabhāram is not a ceremony peculiar either
 “ to Travancore or the Malabar Coast generally. It
 “ is one of the Shodasa (sixteen) Mahādānams (great
 “ donations) mentioned in Sanskrit works. A detailed
 “ description of this great donation is said to be
 “ given in the Pādma Purānam, one of the eighteen
 “ Purānas ascribed to Vyāsa. The sixteen Mahā-
 “ dānams or great donations, as described in a
 “ Sanskrit work, named Hemādri, are as follows :—

“ 1	Tulāpurusha	Danām.
“ 2	Hiranyagarbha	do.
“ 3	Brahmānda	do.
“ 4	Kalpapādapa	do.
“ 5	Gosahasra	do.
“ 6	Hiranyakāmadhenu	do.
“ 7	Hiranyāsva	do.
“ 8	Hiranyāsvaratha	do.
“ 9	Hemahastiratha	do.
“ 10	Panchalāngalaka	do.
“ 11	Dharā	do.
“ 12	Visvachakra	do.
“ 13	Kalpalatā	do.
“ 14	Saptasāgara	do.
“ 15	Rathadhenu	do.
“ 16	Mahābhūtaghata	do.

“ The Tulabhāram is, of course, one of the most
 “ costly of these great donations and is, by its nature,
 “ befitting only to Kings. That it was performed by
 “ many Hindu Kings, not in the mythical but historical
 “ ages, we have tangible proof. In the September
 “ number of 1869 of the *Pandit*, a monthly Anglo-
 “ Sanskrit periodical published at Benares, there is a
 “ paper on a copper plate bearing old inscription, dug
 “ up by a carpenter named Jagat when ploughing a
 “ field in the village of Sivhār near Benares. The

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“copper plate purposes to be a grant of a village to a Brāhman by Rāja Jaya Chandra Deva, king of Kanouj in 1232, Samvat (1172 A.D.) The plate is inscribed with a number of Sanskrit verses in the way of preface to the actual grant—the verses tracing the geneology of the royal donor and glorifying each successive King. Among them is the following verse:—

“Téirthàni Kāsikusikottarakosaledurasthāniyakā-
niparipālayatad'higamya,

“Hema Atmatulyam Anisam dadatā dvijebhyah,
“Yena Ankita Vasmatīl Sātasah tulābhīh.'

“It may be translated thus :

“The earth was marked with hundreds of scales by him (name being given in a previous stanza) who, going to Kāsi, Kusika, Uttarakosala and other holy places, always distributed gold of his own weight to Brāhmans.'

“As in all flights of oriental adulation, there is exaggeration in the above; but exaggeration, though it may magnify number and quantity, does not falsify the mode of bounty. Hence we may safely assume that the Tulābhāram was performed by Hindoo Kings in, or anterior to, the twelfth century. It is also well known that the celebrated Mahratta Queen Ahalyā Bhāyi performed the Tulābhāram and other great donations, and so also successive Peshwahs up to Baji Rao. But what is really strange is that some of the Mogul Emperors of the House of Baber should adopt this purely Hindu mode of religious gift. The “Calcutta Review,” No. XCVIII, October 1869, in an article headed ‘The death of Jehangir and the accession of Shahjahan’ contains the following passages: ‘To-day Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) was weighed* * * *’ (page 131). ‘The presents which Jotikrai received were enormous; he was even once weighed in gold. * * *’

“It is believed that Cherumān Perumāl, in dividing his Malayālam or Keralam Empire into four parts

“and assigning each to a separate chief gave a crown
 “to the Travancore king, and enjoined on him and CHAP.
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 “his successors the performance of Tulabharam and
 “the other great ceremony. Hiranyagarbham, as
 “preliminary to the wearing of the crown. Authentic
 “written records are extant which testify to their
 “performance by several of the ancient sovereigns
 “of Travancore. Since the reign of Raja Mārtānda-
 “varmā, who ascended the musnud in 1758-59, these
 “ceremonies have been performed in unbroken succes-
 “sion by every sovereign. In connection with the sub-
 “ject it may be worth mentioning that there is a
 “tradition that both the Zamorin and the Rajah of
 “Cochin have been unable to perform these cere-
 “monies as each of them could perform them only in a
 “pagoda situated in the heart of the other's territories,
 “which would always be jealously guarded against.
 “Trichūr is said, to be the Zamorin's Jerusalem, or
 “place to be won, and Taliparambu the Cochin Rajah's.
 “It is a fact known to history that the Zamorin
 “invaded the Cochin territories during the last
 “century, but whether he performed Tulabharam at
 “Trichūr is not certain. That the Cochin Rajah has
 “a crown but does not wear it on his head is well
 “known. He carries it on his lap on the annual State
 “procession of Attachamayam in August.”

“The two immediate predecessors (maternal uncles)
 “of the present Maharajah of Travancore performed
 “their Tulabharams in the years 1829 and 1850 res-
 “pectively. The first of them performed it in his
 “seventeenth year, and the second in his thirty-sixth
 “year. The present Maharajah has performed it in
 “the thirty-eighth year of his life and the tenth of his
 “reign. The Maharajah had long been desirous to
 “perform the ceremony as a preliminary to his coro-
 “nation, but the moral dissuasion which the outlay of
 “large sums of public money in ceremonies, the benefit
 “of which would not be admitted by any except
 “those who are within the pale of the most orthodox
 “Hinduism, must naturally meet both from the

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" British authorities and from enlightened public
 " opinion, necessitated its postponement. The great
 " ease and buoyancy which the finances of Travancore
 " have, of late years, attained, and the unstinted allot-
 " ment of money to useful public works and other
 " purposes of public benefit, under the able adminis-
 " tration of Dewan Sir T. Madhava Rau, have served
 " to reduce the difficulty which must beset the perform-
 " ance of this costly religious ceremony. Moreover,
 " the British Resident, Mr. Ballard, with a broader
 " cast of mind than some of his predecessors, perceived
 " the propriety of letting the Maharajah act upon
 " the urgings of his religious solicitude to perform what,
 " from several generations past, has been considered
 " a matter of duty in his family, and what was looked
 " upon by far the great majority of his subjects as
 " calculated to promote the dignity and glory of their
 " sovereign to which they would gladly contribute.
 " Under this correct representation the Madras Go-
 " vernment had no objection; and in July last year,
 " the Maharajah issued formal orders for the per-
 " formance of the ceremony. The date first appointed
 " was the 7th of February, which was about a month
 " after the last day of the great Murajapam ceremony.
 " This arrangement, apart from the full cost of the
 " ceremony itself, would have entailed the great addi-
 " tional one of feeding *at least* ten thousand Brāhmans
 " twice a day during the interval of the two ceremonies
 " not to speak of the severe trials to which the sanita-
 " tion of the town would have been subjected during
 " the time. But these evils were obviated by a timely,
 " and masterly *coup* worthy of a Napoleon. About a
 " fortnight before the conclusion of the Murajapam
 " ceremony the date for the Tulābhāram was suddenly
 " altered from the 7th February to the day following
 " the last one of the Murajapam. By this, almost the
 " whole expense of the seven days' preliminary feast
 " was saved, and also that of welcoming the great
 " Nampūri chiefs residing in Malabar and in the
 " Cochin State, who had come in for the Murajapam.

“ If this saving of expenditure was in itself a very gratifying achievement, doubly so was the saving of trouble to the large body of *Viruttikárs* or service land-holders. The Murajapam sheds were utilised for the Tulábháram and in that too there was considerable saving. Indeed, it may be said that the expenditure was narrowed to the strictly religious part of the ceremony and general distribution of gold. CHAP.
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“ Several months before the ceremony the Travancore Government, through its energetic Commercial Agent, Mr. Hugh Crawford, purchased from Messrs. Apcar and Co., of Calcutta, 7,808½ tolahs (about 200½ lbs. avoirdupois or 244 lbs. troy) of pure gold at the rate of 15 Rupees 8 annas per Tola or 1,18,586 Rupees 18 annas 6 pie, for the whole. Including the cost of freight, insurance, and duty amounting to 3,011 Rupees 11 annas, 9 pice, the total outlay was 1,21,598 Rupees 11 annas 3 pice for the whole quantity or 15 Rupees 9 annas 2 pice per tolah. This gold was received in sixteen rectangular equiponderous (488 tolahs 2½ each) slabs or ingots. Out of these, twelve slabs were taken for coinage, the rest being reserved for use if required. The work of the dies was commenced by about the end of November. The device for the coin, on the present occasion, underwent considerable changes from that of these former Tulábháram—Illustrations of both are appended to this narrative. From these figures it will be seen that the coins of the former Tulábháram consisted of circular pieces with simply the letters “*Srí Patmanábhā*” in Malayalam, on the obverse, the reverse being a blank. Whereas, those now coined contain those letters encircled by a wreath on the obverse, and the conch shell (the State device of Travancore) with a wreath around it on the reverse. The wreath on the reverse is a copy of that on the reverse of the old Company’s Rupee. Upon the whole, the new Tulábháram coin is decidedly more handsome than

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"the old. The gold, being of a superior quality, was found sufficiently malleable to preclude the necessity of melting; and so, chances of fraud were immensely reduced. As shewn in the plate appended to this, the coins are of four different sizes and weights.

" 1 Kalanju = 78·65 grains, approximately.

" $\frac{1}{2}$ " = 39·32 " "

" $\frac{1}{4}$ " = 19·66 " "

" $\frac{1}{8}$ " = 9·83 " "

"Of these, the work of the smaller pieces was first undertaken, and as it proceeded in a leisurely manner, the impressions have been sharp and complete. But the change of date of the ceremony, which was suddenly made, necessitated the hurrying over of the coinage of the larger pieces; and consequently the stamping turned out very imperfect. Subjoined is the number of coins of each size struck:"

"	Of 1 Kalanju pieces ...	3,564
"	" $\frac{1}{2}$ " " ...	7,904
"	" $\frac{1}{4}$ " " ...	15,989
"	" $\frac{1}{8}$ " " ...	15,964
Total ...		43,421

"They amount to 13,508 $\frac{1}{2}$ Kalanjus or about 590,544 tolaks.

"The only preparation, besides the coining of gold, which had to be made specially for the ceremony, was the erection of the Tulámandepam, where the scales were put up and the weighing and other rite performed. The Mandapam was, as usual, built in the south-east corner of the interior yard of the great *Anantasayanam* pagoda. The Mandapam was a strong shed, about 45 × 40 feet, thatched with cocoanut leaves, and palisaded with split cocoanut trunks, driven horizontally into vertical posts of the same material. In the middle, a platform, about 22 × 15 feet and a foot in height, was raised. It was on this that the chief ceremony was performed."

“ The religious preliminaries of the Tuláb'háram extend over eight days—the weighing being on the last day. To describe the several little religious ceremonies in detail would be neither intelligible nor interesting to the general reader. However, they may be very generally touched upon.” CHAP.
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“ First Day.—The Maharajah gets shaved, bathes, dresses unbleached clothes, goes to the pagoda and makes pecuniary and other offerings, then proceeds to the Bhadrádipamandapam, where he stays all the while that the chief priest purifies and performs púja to ten pratimas or golden plates with figures in relief. These Pratimas represent Vishnu, Siva, Vinayaka, and the seven Mátrís. Then twelve Brahmins are specially fed and gifted with *Dakshinà*. The Maharajah then asks their permission to perform the ceremony thus:—“Aham Tulá-purushadánam kartum ic'hami”—They, in reply, say, “Kriyatám,” which means ‘do so.’ The Maharajah then worships the pratimas and goes back to the interior square of the pagoda. There the ceremony of *Guruvarana* or the appointment of Rítviks or officiating priests is performed. Of these priests they are 27. They are, one Acháryah, one Brahman, one Sadasyah, eight Rítviks, eight Jápakas (repeaters of Vedas) and eight Páthakas (readers of Puránas). The Acháryah is the head priest and occupies the place filled by the *Ad'hvaryuh* in Yágam. Each of these twenty-seven is appointed with all attendant religious ceremonies. After *Guruvarana* the Maharajah returns to the Palace. There are certain minor ceremonies that night, such as the sowing of the nine grains in silver flower pots filled with earth and cowdung moistened with milk.”

“ Second Day.—This day the high priest anoints the Maharajah with sacred water. The water is rendered red by boiling in it the barks of four different trees of the ficus tribe. It is prepared on

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"the previous evening, poured into a silver pot and subjected to pūjas and incantations."

"On the third, fourth, and fifth days, there are no ceremonies excepting pūjas to the pratimas already mentioned."

"Sixth Day.—This day the high priest consecrates the *Tulāmandapam* and propitiates with *Vastu Bali*, the spirits which are supposed to dwell in new buildings."

"Seventh Day.—This day the Maharajah goes to the pagoda as on the first day; and after worshipping and making offerings, precedes to the *Tulāmandapam* accompanied by the Achāryah or head priest and the twenty-six others, and there stays till the Achāryah performs pūja to the three pratimas of Vishnu, Siva and Vināyaka, and returns to the Palace. After this the Achāryah purifies the *Tulāmandapam* and plants a *toranam* or ornamental arch at each of the four entrances. The *toranam* post at the eastern gate is made of *Asvattha*, (*Ficus Religiosa*), at the southern of *Udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*), at the western of *Vata* (*Ficus Indica*), at the northern of *Plaksha* (*Ficus Infectoria*). These are further marked, with one of the four weapons of Vishnu; viz., Conch shell, Chackra or wheel, Gadā or Warclub, and the Lotus. The Dhvajāsor flag staffs are then planted at the eight chief points of the compass, the chief one being at the north-east corner. These are then consecrated. The high priest's assistants purify with Mantras 120 pots of water of *Kolasas* to besprinkle various parts of the *Mandapam* with. The Achāryah or high priest then performs a Pūja to the goddess Lakshmi on the platform. Then the scales and beam, specially made, are brought in procession with attendant music, &c., and after certain sacrificial *Homas* and purification with *Kolasas*, the scales are put up. Inclusive of the *Tulāpurusha Pratimā* there are 93 golden *Pratimas*, and of these some are stuck on the beam with wax,

“ others are placed on the scales, while the chief Pratimà above mentioned is hung up in the middle of the beam just beneath the index of the scales. Golden pots, filled with water and covered with silk and garlands, are placed beneath the scales. The eight *Jāpakas* repeat the four Vedas at the four gates in the following order: Rig, east, Yajus, south, Sāma, west, and Atharvā, north. The eight *Pāthakas* read the Purānas, among which are the Ramāyana, Mahābhārata, and Bhāgavata. This night, in the presence of the Maharajah, the Achāryah performs Pūja to the beam and scales, and after this, twelve Brahmins are specially fed and presented with Dakshinas. After this, the Maharajah, together with the Achāryah and the rest of the priests returns to the Tulāmandapam and the Achāryah performs Pūja to Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirriti, Varuna, Vāyu, Kubera, and Isāna, the eight *Dikpālas* in their due points of the compass. Brahmā and Ananta are propitiated in the S.W. and N.E. corners. The Maharajah performs *Pushpārchana* or bestowal of flowers to these several deities and lastly to the scales, accompanied with prayers, and then returns to the Palace.”

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“ Eighth Day.—This day, the Achāryah makes a Pūja early in the morning to the Tulāpurusha Pratimā, after which the Maharajah goes to the Pagoda, bathed and religiously attired. After worshipping and making offerings he proceeds to the Tulāmandapam, where in the south-east corner he is sprinkled with *Punyāham* water. Thence he goes to the side room where the “nine grains” are sown in silver flower pots, where the Achāryah anoints him with nine fresh water *Kolasas*. Thence the Maharajah retires to the Palace, changes clothes, wears certain golden jewels specially made for the occasion and, holding the State sword in his right hand and the State shield of black leopard’s skin and a scimitar in his left, he proceeds to the Pagoda, and having presented a bull elephant at the foot of the great golden flag

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" staff, and silks, gold coins, jewels and other rich
 " offerings in the interior, he walks round by the
 " Sivaimandapam and re-enters the Tulāmandapam.
 " He walks thrice round the scales, prostrates before
 " it, prays, performs certain preliminary donations,
 " bows before the priests and elderly relatives and
 " obtains their sanction to perform the Tulāpuruṣa-
 " dānam. He then mounts the western scale, holding
 " *Yamās* and *Sūryās* Pratimās in his right and left
 " hands respectively. He sits facing to the east on a
 " circular heavy plank cut out of a fresh jackwood
 " and covered with silk. The sword and shield are
 " placed in the lap. He repeats Mantras in this
 " position. The opposite or eastern scale then receives
 " the gold, both coined and in ingots, till it not only
 " attains equality but touches the ground, and the scale
 " occupied by the Maharajah rises high. The Maha-
 " rajah then comes down, and sitting facing to the
 " east, places the gold, the Tulapurusha Pratimā and
 " other Pratimās with flowers, sandal paste, &c.,
 " in a basin of water, and meditating *Brahma* or
 " Supreme Being, he offers the contents to Brāhmins
 " generically. The Achāryah then dismisses with
 " Mantras the several deities invoked for the occasion,
 " and anoints the Maharajah with Avabhṛt'ha Kalasām
 " in the north-west corner of the Mandapam. The Maha-
 " rajah is again sprinkled with *Punyāha*, and he then
 " prostrates before the Achāryah and other great men
 " and receives their benedictions. Leaving the
 " Tulāmandapam he walks round the Pagoda in State
 " and having dismissed the Achāryah and other
 " priests near the golden flag staff, retires in the
 " Palace, after once more worshipping and offering
 " presents in the interior of the Pagoda. Thus ends
 " the Tulābh'ḥāram ceremony. One remarkable feature
 " in it will not escape notice. It is that it has more
 " of the Vaidik cast than that of later Hinduism. The
 " Vaidik Gods, Indra, Angi, Varuna, Vāyu and others
 " are all propitiated. The priests who conduct the
 " ceremony bear, for the time, the several appellations

" given to those who take part in the Vaidik *Yajnam* CHAP.
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" ceremony.

" Of the whole quantity of gold placed in the scale,
" one-fourth is divided among the priests who conduct
" the ceremony. The Division is thus :—

- " 1. Acharyah gets $\frac{1}{3}$ of the $\frac{1}{4}$ th
- " 2. The Brahman, Sadasyah and the
 eight R̥tviks $\frac{1}{3}$ " "
- " 3. The eight Pāthakas and the eight
 Jāpakas together $\frac{1}{3}$ " "

" In these, the third item is subjected to equi-division, "—each of the 16 men getting $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the $\frac{1}{4}$ th.
" But the second is not so. Each of the ten does not
" get $\frac{1}{16}$ th. The Brahmin gets about $\frac{1}{16}$ th, the Sadasyah
" about $\frac{1}{16}$ th, and each of the eight R̥tviks and Acharyah
" (who again has a share in this also) gets about $\frac{1}{16}$ th,—
" the whole making up about one-third. The whole
" quantity of gold used in the scale to weigh the Mahara-
"ajah was 18,150 *kalanjus* and 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ *machātias* or
" 7984·80 tolahs approximately, which is 266 tolahs
" in excess of the total gold specially ordered. This
" excess was supplied by the Maharajah's private
" Treasury in anticipation of payment from the public
" Treasury."

" The shares of the 27 priests are approximately as
" follows :—

" The Acharyah (major share).....	661·07 tolahs.
" Do. (minor share).....	50·9 "
" The Brahman	110·18 "
" The Sadasyah	94·43 "
" Each of the eight R̥tviks at 50·91..	407·28 "
" Each of the eight Jāpakas at 41·83..	330·64 "
" Each of the eight Pāthakas at 41·83..	330·64 "

" It will be seen from the above that the Acharyah
" or head priest, has the lion's share of nearly 712
" tolahs, which, even at 15 Rs. per tolah, amounts to

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I

"10,680 Rs. He has other emoluments besides this.
"His family or Tarwád name is Tarunanallúr Nam-
"púripád, and is the religious head of the great Pagoda,
"and the head State priest.

"The remaining three-fourths of the gold is distri-
"buted generally among Brahmans. On the former
"occasion the rate of payment was as follows :

" Nampúri Bráhmán <i>Adhyas</i> (Lords)	
of ordinary description	3 Kalanjus.
" Nampúri Bráhmán <i>Karmis</i> (who	
have performed Yajnam)	3 "
" Ordinary Nampúri Bráhmans.....	2 "
" Canarese Bráhmans.....	1½ "
" Tamil Bráhmans	½ "
" Do. Women and Children	⅓ "

"From this rate a reduction was made on the
"present occasion, by which the *Adhyas* and *Karmis*
"got 2 k, ordinary Nampúris 1½ k, and the Canarese
"Bráhmans 1 k, no alteration being made in that
"of the Tamil Bráhmans. Besides this, the great
"Nampúri Lords receive varying quantities the
"maximum being 100 k. Tamil Bráhmans who pass
"an examination in Vedas and Sástras get extra gold,
"about ¾ k. at an average. Great Pandits and
"Vaidiks get much large quantities. On the former
"occasion the maximum under this item reached 45 k,
"but now this was kept down at 15 or 20 k. Certain
"privileged families, hereditarily depending on the
"court receive extra payments. The Maharajah
"also makes discretionary gifts to friends and depend-
"ants. But whenever a present of this gold is made
"to any person not a Bráhmán a deposit of its value
"in money must be made, for the gold being the
"property of the Bráhmans after the *dánam* cannot
"be appropriated for other purposes. The late Maha-
"rajah strictly adhered to this, and it is unlikely
"that the present Maharajah has deviated from it.

"It may be mentioned that the Maharajah has, with ^{CHAP.} his wonted kind consideration presented all his ² European friends with specimen coins. Lord Napier, and probably H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh himself, must have had the addition of this curiosity to their cabinets. The subjoined is a comparative statement of the total distributions of gold on the recent and the immediately previous occasions. It is given in *kalanju* and *manchatti*. One *kalanju* is about 78·65 grains or about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a tolah, and one *manchatti* is about 3·979 grains.

Items of Distribution of Gold.	Tulabharam of 1850.		Tulabharam of 1870.	
	K.	M.	K.	M.
" 1.—To the Acharyah and the twenty-six other priests who conducted the ceremony	5781	1	4587	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
" 2.—To the great Nampuri chiefs and hereditary grandees	846	5	712	10
" 3.—To Nampuri and Canarese Bráhmans generally	4778	10	3626	15
" 4.—To Tamil Bráhmans generally	3668	5	2845	15
" 5.—To do. Women and Children	1245	5	1416	5
" 6.—To do. Bráhman Pandits and those who were examined in the Vedas and Sástras	3707	0	2790	10
" 7.—To friends, dependents, servants and miscellaneous	2867	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Not ascertained.	
" Total	22924	84	• • •	• • •
" Total Gold used for weighing	22924	3	18159	19
" Gold unspent	84	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	• • •	• • •

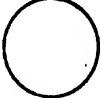
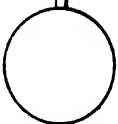
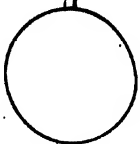
"It will be seen from the above that except in the item of Tamil Bráhman women and children there has been decrease on the present occasion. But the total quantity of gold was smaller than on the former occasion and the rates of distribution to the Nampuri and Canarese Bráhmans and to the Pandits have been considerably lowered. This, together with the decrease of influx of people from distant

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“ parts of India, owing to the sudden alteration of
 “ date, will account for the general decrease. The
 “ chief saving, however, was in the items of feast, the
 “ erection of sheds, and the travelling expenses of the
 “ great Nampūri Chiefs, &c., which, owing to the
 “ coincidence of the great Murajapam, were almost
 “ nil. The whole ascertained expense amounts to
 “ 155,427 Rs., and a few more unaudited items will
 “ probably swell the total to 160,000 Rupees in round
 “ numbers. The Hiranyagarb'ham ceremony, which
 “ must be performed likewise before the Maharajah's
 “ coronation, may cost about 140,000 Rs. Three
 “ lakhs of rupees is doubtless a large sum in a small
 “ State like Travancore, which has yet to undertake
 “ many important public works and extend the bene-
 “ fits of Education; but it is not too large to be spent
 “ once in the lifetime of a Hindu Ruler, who has
 “ seldom been oblivious to the just wants of his people
 “ and never been misguided in the use of public
 “ money, in religious ceremonies the performance of
 “ which by the head of the State undoubtedly has the
 “ exultant sanction of the whole Hindu population
 “ in it.

“ In the plate appended the figures in the line marked
 “ A represent the coins or medals struck on the pre-
 “ sent occasion, and those in the line B show those of
 “ the last Tulābhāram.”

B



A



Both of these ceremonies, Thulapurusha danam and Hirannya Garbha danam, are preliminaries to the coronation ceremony in Travancore. Parasu Rama himself performed Thulapurusha danam at Thiroonawaye, before he performed the great national feast Mahamukhum. CHAP. I

The chief actors in both of the above ceremonies are the Numboory Brahmans in whom Parasu Rama vested the duty of performing all the religious and Vedic ceremonies in Kerala.

Aluvanchery Samrattu, now vulgarly called Thamprakel, the supreme authority among the Numboory Brahman community, in regard to Vedic functions, is the chief preceptor to the Travancore royal family: he has to be present at all such ceremonies and is the principal person at the ceremony called Upanayanam, investiture of the young Princes with the Brahmanical emblem Poonunool, when they attain their proper age.

An account of this great Brahmanical chief will be found in Dr. Buchanan's work, wherein he is called Rajah. The denomination Thamprakel has led the people to call him Rajah, for Rajah is called in the Malayalam language, Thumpooran. The Numboory community was held in great reverence and high regard in Kerala, and none would venture to offend a Numboory, who is supposed to possess the power of imprecation and cursing.

Though several Rajahs and petty chiefs rose up subsequent to the Perumal period, still the Numboory community maintained its power within the sixty-four gramams, but owing to neglect of the devotional observances and religious performances, the prosperity of the community began to decline and the precepts and commands of Parasu Rama were indifferently attended to.

At such a period, the great and renowned Vedanthist, Sankara Acharyar was born. His birth-place is

CHAP. I. Kalady on the northern bank of the Alwaye river, and eight miles from the town of Alwaye; he was a Numboory of some rank and distinction.

We have only a traditional account of the period of Sankara Acharyar's birth, which is said to have been about half a century before the beginning of the Kollum era or the Malayalam year, and in the eighth century of the Christian era.

This account coincides with that given by the Author of the "South Indian Gods."*

Sankara Acharyar, while very young, began to criticise the religious proceedings of the Numboories and their Vedic knowledge and studies generally, and consequently the community was offended with the youth and began to persecute him in every possible manner. The community pronounced a verdict of excommunication upon the family (a cowardly mode of retaliation pursued by the Numboory community even up to this day.) The Brahmans were prohibited to associate with the family and even the lower orders were prevented from serving at Sankara's illum (house.)

When about sixteen years of age Sankara is said to have set out on a pilgrimage as a hermit.

An account of the pilgrimage, &c., of Sankara Acharyar is given in eight stanzas composed in Sanscrit, by one of his disciples. These verses are to the effect that Sankara Acharyar was born in the Brahman village Kalady in Keralam; that he became omniscient by the time he attained sixteen years of age, attained the religious degree of ascetism, proceeded to Badarikasramam where the Soothra Bhashya was composed that Vyasa, the great Rishi met Sankara Acharyar

* The most celebrated professor of the Vedanta was Sankara Acharya; and regarding him we learn from Professor H. H. Wilson's Hindu Sects, that he lived about the eighth or ninth century, and was, according to most accounts a native of Kerala or Malabar, of the tribe of Numboory Brahmans, and in the Mythological language of the Sect, an incarnation of Siva. South Indian Gods, page 114.

there; that the Bhashya was shown him, and that he fully approved of the work; that they resided there together for some years; that subsequently Sankara Acharyar returned to his mother to whom he administered spiritual aid in her last moments; that after her death, he returned to Baderikasramam and ordained a fit disciple there; that he set out from thence with his disciple, went to Gaya, and performed certain ceremonies for his deceased mother; that he was here engaged in a religious discussion with a learned Brahman whom he converted and made his disciple; that they came together to Gokarnam and converted there an unmarried Brahman who also became his disciple; that he proceeded to Kalastri and other holy places, accompanied by all his disciples; that subsequently he came to Kanchi, and after visiting Sreerangam, continued his pilgrimage to Ramaswarum and Sethu, and that finally, the Acharyar visited Trichoor, constituting several religious ordinations and establishments at various places during the pilgrimage.

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I.

Sankara Acharyar finished his worldly career at the early age of thirty-two years at Baderikasramam, or, as is generally believed, at Badrikadarum near the Himalaya and this is corroborated by the author of the "South Indian Gods," page 115. The Acharyar's disciples composed several works called Acharya Charitham, Acharya Vejayem, &c., but such works have now become very scarce.

Sankara Acharyar introduced various improvements amongst the Numboory community of Keralam, in modification of the laws and ordinances of Parasu Rama, which are now observed by the Brahmins as their religious bye-laws. He also made several divisions of caste in the lower orders, the particulars of which will be found detailed in Kerala Ulppathy, page 33.

At this period, the Numboory community continued as they were originally, in two sections, viz.: *Chowarakoor* and *Pannarakoor*.

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The improvement effected by Sankara Acharyar was that each of these divisions should have a *Wadhyan* (spiritual Preceptor) called Thirunawaye Wadhyan and Thrishivaparoor (Trichoor) Wadhyan; that there should be under these two personages six *Wydeekens* (Vedic Judges) a set of *Meemamsakens* (expounders of spiritual laws,) and Smarthens (Professors of spiritual laws.) All spiritual affairs to be guided and conducted by these men in perfect accordance with the Vedic law.

Sankara Acharyar introduced also certain rules and observances regarding matrimony amongst the Numboory Brahmans, most rigid in their character. The married female is not allowed to be seen by any males even of the family or of her caste people. She is to move under the screen or cover of a large-sized umbrella purposely constructed with the Tallipot palm leaf, and is always to be attended by a female servant, who goes before her whenever she steps out of doors. She is not permitted to adorn her person with costly ornaments and clothes; her ornaments consist of a pair of golden ear-rings of a peculiar make and description, different from the pattern worn by females of other classes. She wears a string of neck ornaments called *Tholikoottam*, and a number of brass bangles on both hands. She wears a long country-made coarse cloth round her waist and covers her body from the neck downwards with a coarse sheet of cloth.

The costume, the ornament and the condition of the Numboory females continue to this day just the same without the least change from the original rules laid down for the sex by Sankara Acharyar.

The rules laid down for protecting chastity amongst the females are extremely rigorous and severe. The following is a brief outline of the mode of enquiry in cases of adultery among the Numboory Brahmans as established by Sankara Acharyar.

When a female member of a family is suspected of having violated the laws of chastity, the headman of

the family generally takes the lead in an enquiry; he communicates the information to his kinsmen, and they together with some of the headmen of the neighbouring village assemble in the house and hold a private enquiry with the maid servant attached to the suspected female, as also with the other maid servants of the house. This enquiry is a very minute and searching one, and if the suspicion is found groundless, the enquiry is stopped and the matter dropped altogether. On the other hand, the suspected female is ordered to be located in a separate place which is called by the technical term *Anjampura*, and there she remains apart from the others. The owner of the house and his kinsmen, together with the elders, now proceed to the king and represent the matter in a particular form. The King, his family Priest, and other Pandits of the Court, assemble and the sovereign himself puts several questions to the complainant and his kinsmen as to the nature and grounds of the suspicion and their own knowledge of the matter, their opinion, &c. &c., and the courtiers also follow the same course, and then the king issues a writ to the *Smarthen* and deposes the king's agent or deputy in the person of a learned man and Vedic scholar of the Court. The prosecutor, together with certain men of the committee, go to the *Smarthen*, lays down a sum of money as a complimentary present to the *Smarthen*, and apprises him of the affair and of the king's order; the *Meemamsakens* are then assembled and all now proceed to the house of the suspected female, and the *Smarthen*, with all the respect due to a Numboory woman, standing at a good distance without being seen by the female, makes a maid servant his intermediary and commences asking a series of questions. If the *Smarthen* is satisfied that there is no ground for proceeding with the enquiry, he communicates the same to the *Meemamsakens* and to the king's agent, who are also present there. After mutual consultation and consideration of the nature of the questions and answers, should they agree with the *Smarthen* that the accused is innocent,

CHAP. I. the enquiry, is discontinued and the ceremony known as *Kahama Namaskarum* is gone through, i. e., lying prostrate before the suspected female and asking her pardon for the vexatious procedure to which she was subjected, and thus the female is honorably exonerated. On the other hand, should the suspicion be confirmed by her answers, and good reasons be found for believing the charge, the Smarthen shows himself before the accused female and confronting her, begins questioning her. From this stage, the female is called and addressed "*Sadanam*" (thing). This examination continues about three days, and by that time the guilt is likely to be completely established, mostly by confession strengthened by evidence, and then the case is summed up and considered by the Smarthen, Meemamsaken and others in the presence of the king's agent. At this stage, the female is closely watched, not only to prevent out-side advice from reaching her but also to frustrate any intentions of suicide which she may entertain. The result of the enquiry is reported to the king, who, after hearing all the facts sanctions the excommunication of the female and allows her a small pittance of rice and provisions to be issued from one of the Oottupurahs (feeding houses). The sentence of excommunication is announced by a foreign Brahman, called Patter. This person, standing on a platform erected for the purpose, declares in a loud voice the names of the adulteress, and the adulterer; he next announces that the crime has been proved against them and that they have both been excommunicated. For this service, the Patter gets the prescribed fee. The cost of this enquiry, which is generally called "*Smarthavicharam*," is somewhat considerable, and the whole is borne by the head of the family who is bound to go through certain ceremonies after performing the mock funeral ceremonies of the female, who is now considered as dead and severed from the family. This concluding ceremony is called "*Sudhabhojanam*" (messing after purification).

During the enquiry the assembled committee is sumptuously fed by the head of the family. CHAP.
I.

This enquiry shows that the Numboory Brahmans depend solely upon the king for sanction in such cases, and that such an enquiry is essential to the Brahmans for preserving the purity of their race.

The Brahmans have to perform a most important ceremony in accordance with the canons of the Veda. This ceremony is called "Yagam" (sacrifice) and it is also to be performed with the sanction of the king, who, as in duty bound, is to attend the ceremony as a protector.

Parasu Rama himself respected and observed the above law when he performed the great Mahamakham sacrifices at Thirunawaye, where the Kerala Mahatmyam says that that great Brahman celebrated the ceremony with great pomp and in the presence of the kings, of whom the Travancore sovereign was reckoned the foremost.

We find that during the sway of the Numboories over each of the various Devaswams (temples of worship) instituted by Parasu Rama, a Samantha Kshatria called Kovil Addikarikal was appointed as manager. These Adhikarikals rose in power and in course of time established themselves as petty chiefs.

These Devaswams became possessed of immense wealth and landed property, to which latter numerous tenants were attached and who established themselves as ryots or subjects, so much so that the Devaswam managers and trustees enacted rules and laws for the management of the Devaswam property and began to enforce these laws, independent of the king, within the limits of their landed property.

Tradition shows that the life and property of the Devaswam tenants were at the mercy of the Devaswam community. In every pagoda, before the commencement of the annual Ulsavam festival, which generally begins by a flag being hoisted, such of the

CHAP. I. Devaswam tenants, as had committed any breach of the Devaswam rules were gibbeted before the hoisting of the flag and the commencement of the Ulsavam. By such arbitrary conduct of the Devaswam people the sovereign power was overshadowed, and the king became indifferent to the mode in which affairs were administered within the jurisdiction of Devaswam and Brahmaswam lands.

These powers of the Devaswam appear to have continued up to the early part of the eighth century, as will be seen from accounts of the Travandrum Devaswam.

The rise of the Devaswam to power greatly affected the military resources of the king, whose forces are chiefly constituted of militia trained out of the populace. Now, the Devaswam ryots became the largest portion of the people and they were not permitted to form a portion of the militia.

The military strength granted by Parasu Rama to the Travancore King as mentioned in the Kerala Mahatmyam was 3,50,000 men, and these were all militia.

We have already said that the art of war and the uses of warlike weapons were introduced by Parasu Rama.

The system of training soldiers adopted by that Brahman warrior and followed by the kings of Travancore and Kolathnaud was that every village should maintain its own militia. The name of every male child of the Nairs and others, six months after birth, was to be registered as belonging to the militia. Fencing and gymnastic schools, called Kalery, were established in every district under the superintendence of certain authorised masters, denominated Gurukals and Azans to educate boys in the art of war which consisted chiefly of sword exercises, arrow-shooting, spear, lance and dagger exercises, wrestling and the use of the shield, and several other arts of offence and defence. These masters were required not only to give the boys military education, but also to train

them in gymnastic exercises, sword and rope-dancing CHAP.
I.
for the entertainment of the public.

For the command of the militia, trained men were expressly nominated, such as *Munnalakaren*, (one who stands in front of a company) *Cherumanakaren*, (the one behind or close to the first; ranking perhaps with the present grades Subadar and Jemadar). Over several of these men there were noblemen, with the titles of *Karthavu* (Lord), *Kymal* (nobleman), and such others like the old Barons and Knights of England. The head of the number of these noblemen was a petty chief of a State called *rajah* who had to appear before the king with his levee of fighting men in time of war. The *Gurukul* had *Wriithi* (means of livelihood or maintenance), now called *Virithi*, allowed them by the king, which consisted of portions of lands. Similar privileges on a large scale were granted to all the chiefs for maintaining the militia. By the appointment of *Parasu Rama*, the king of Travancore and his relative the chief of *Kolathnaud*, had each 350,000 militia men, and these, were recognized even by the last *Perumal*. The *Kerala Ulppathy*¹ as well as the *Kerala Mahatmyam*² fully certify to this fact. The extent of the possessions of these two sovereigns, and the importance of Travancore and *Kolathnaud* may be justly and rightly judged from the strength of the militia, for to raise a militia of 700,000 men would undoubtedly require a large population, with an extensive area of land, and it is an additional proof that the whole of *Kerala* was in the possession of these two sovereigns, and that almost all the *rajahs* and chiefs and their nobles who were each head of thirty, fifteen, ten, five and three thousand men of the militia, according to the account in the *Kerala Ulppathy* (vide pages 41 and 42) were subject to these two kings of Travancore and *Kolathnaud*.*

1—*Kerala Ulppathy*, pages 40 and 41.

2—*Kerala Mahatmyam*, Chapter 86.

The *Kols* conquest of the *Belakas* might be cited as an instance of the power of these kings.

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We see remnants of the above system still in existence in Travancore, though not in its original form nor for the same purposes. Some of the originally established kaleries are to be seen here and there, with their privileged Asans or masters. Such kaleries are found now-a-days in the territories of the king of Travancore, where all such ancient relics are preserved and the services of the grade of men with their original title such as Munnalakaren and Charumanakaren, and the militia men as Virithicar are still retained, and they even to this day perform coolium services in the villages, and in the possession of lands allotted to them as Virithi. The aggregate number of such persons amounts to about 20,000 and the lands to the extent of about 14,000 acres and 5,000 gardens. In no country in India are such services found to exist.

That the supremacy of Keralam devolved upon the Travancore king we find borne out by the fact of the currency of Kerala.

We have already shown that Parasu Rama had minted a gold coin called Rasi, and that it was the sovereign coin of Kerala, till the commencement of the Kali Yugam. Though the coin Rasi has become almost extinct, since the last few centuries, still in all transactions relating to landed property in the northern parts of Travancore, this coin is to this day the standard for fixing the value thereof.

Travancore minted its coin from the earliest time in the Kali age and it is the principal currency of the kingdom and is called Kaliyuga Rajen fanam, which coin, though not current now, is the acknowledged currency in Travancore, like the star pagoda of the Carnatic. The old Kaliyuga Rajen fanam was a close imitation of the Madura Vella fanam (the Pandyan coin), and both had a faint resemblance to the Rasi fanam. These coins were certainly minted long after the coinage of the gold Rasi fanam by Parasu Rama. Subsequently, the Travancore mint

issued gold coins the form and stamp resembling very much those of the Rasi, called Anantha Rajen fanam and Anantha Varahan (gold pagoda). A silver coin, under the designation of Chuckram, was issued from the Travancore mint from the earliest period and it was current even in the Pandyan kingdom. CHAP.
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Inscriptions and copper Sasanams show that the Kaliyuga Rajen fanam was the currency in the early part of the Kali Yugam. The Telugu Brahman Kannadyan's copper Sasanam already alluded to, corroborates the fact of Chuckram being the currency during that period.

All the designations by which Travancore coins were known had special meanings, viz., Kaliyuga Rajen fanam means the coin of the king who ruled Keralam in the beginning of the Kali age. Anantha Rajen fanam means the Travancore king's coin, so also Anantha Varahan; and Chuckram denotes the emblem or weapon of Vishnu, the household deity of the Travancore sovereign. Gold Chuckrams were minted in Travancore at one time, but they are not current now.

All these coins were current between Cape Comorin and Gokarnam. During the time of the Perumal period and that of the Brahmanical rule, the Rasi appears to have been the currency as also other coins which were minted and circulated in Keralam by the Travancore king. A few centuries subsequent to the Kollum era, Malayalam year, the Kolathnaud Rajah issued a gold coin of his own, resembling the Rasi and called the gold fanam. When the Zamorin flourished under the assumed title of "*Nadivirippu*," that potentate issued a coin of his own, being an imitation of the Kolathnaud Rajah's coin and he called it Veera Rayen Puthia fanam or Zamorin's new fanam, which, as well as the Kolathnaud Rajah's coin became the currency in all the northern countries and every one of the chiefs accepted them as such; but the Kolathnaud king's

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coin was now called Palaya fanam, old coin. Even the Perinpadappu king accepted the Zamorin's new fanam as legal tender in his country, a practise which still continues, and money transactions in the Cochin Rajah's territories are calculated chiefly according to the Zamorin's new gold fanam. But the Zamorin's coins were not a legal tender in the Travancore king's territories.

Perinpadappu latterly issued alloyed silver coin called Puthen, which appears to have scarcely been acknowledged out of his own territories.

The Travancore coins were current in Kerālam up to the time the Zamorin rose to power. The Kaliyuga Rajen fanam and the Chuckram have been current in the kingdoms of Pandya and Chola from ancient times. Thus we have traced the currency of Kerala from the time of Parasu Rama up to the present day, and, though we have already shown that Kerala was no other than Travancore, yet it is necessary to refer once more to the subject and trace the names of localities in connection with our narration.

The coronation of King Veera Kerala Vurmah, Kulasekhara Perumal, in the Kali year 8412, has been chronicled above. This took place in the middle of the Perumal period and the coronation was attended by the then Perumal, and by all the chiefs and nobles of Kerala; the ceremonies of Hirannya Garbham and Thulapurusha danam were performed by the Numbory Brahmins of both Chowarakoor and Punniarakoor.

This sovereign occupied the Kerala throne for a long time and ruled his kingdom with prosperity and popularity.

The capital, where this monarch resided, was Veera Keralapuram close to Sreevalumcode, (Thiroovithancode) and Sreevardhanapuram (Padmanabhapuram,) where Parasu Rama installed two of this king's ancestors.

Veera Keralapuram or Keralapuram is still in existence; there are the palace, the pagoda, the Brahman and Sudra villages. On the right side of this city is Sreevalumcode, and on the left, Sreevurdhanapuram, not far from each other. CHAP.
I

This king appears to have ended his most praiseworthy career after an unusually long reign, during the Viceroyalty of Bhaskara Revi Vurmah, the last Cheraman Perumal.

There are many localities, capitals and towns in the eastern side of the Ghauts the names of which perpetuate the memory of the Chera dynasty and its kings, such as Chera Maha Devi, Marthandaswaram, Kulasekharapatanam, &c., &c., in like manner, in Keralam also similar names are abundantly found.

We find that besides Veera Keralapuram, the denomination connected with Kulasekhara is freely and largely adopted in Keralam, such as Kulasekharapuram, Kulasekhara Mangalam, &c. Keraladithyapuram and Keraleswaram are also used as denominations of pagodas, villages, &c.

Veera Kerala Vurmah, Kulasekhara Perumal, was succeeded by his brother, whose name is not very clear. No particulars of the reign of this king can be gathered from any reliable account; all that is known of him is that he was unable to follow in the track of his predecessor and that he did not perform the costly ceremonies and wear the sacred crown and become a Kulasekhara Perumal. This king's successor was the nephew of Veera Kerala Vurmah, whose name he bore.

It appears that it was in his reign during which nothing extraordinary occurred that the Perumal Viceroyalty ended.

The last Cheraman Perumal closed his worldly career at Thiruvanjiclam; the traditional account is that he disappeared suddenly from his residence. Certain Tamil accounts say that he ascended to heaven

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I.

with one Sundra Moorthy Swamy, while the Kerala Ulppathy narrates that Cheraman proceeded to Mecca, met the prophet Mahomet, embraced Mahomedanism, lived some years there, married the daughter of the Arabian king, had children by her, and died at that place. This statement, on the face of it appears to be utterly false, as the prophet was not born at the time when Bhaskara Revi Vurmah Perumal died

Such statements strengthen the doubts as to the reliableness of the Kerala Ulppathy, which is the chief source of information respecting the Perumal's rule, subsequent to Parasu Rama's period; but the narration in this work (Kerala Ulppathy) subsequent to the Perumal period still further bewilders the reader, especially as almost all accounts therein related, are not annotated. There is no means of knowing exactly at what period the chronicles of this work end.

The division of Kerala, at the time of the last Cheraman Perumal's retirement as narrated in the Kerala Ulppathy, is generally disbelieved, and almost disapproved, as has been said by Dr. Gundert. Besides, the Perumal as a Viceroy had no power to make territorial divisions of the dominions of his master, the Chera king.

It would appear from all accounts, that the Cochin chief, under the designation of Mada Bhoopathy or Madathin Kovil (vide Kerala Ulppathy, page 62,) also called Kovil Adhikarikel, as the relation of the Perumal, as a matter of course took possession of the Perumal's residence at Thiruvanjicolum (the original home of the Chera dynasty,) and enjoyed the Perumal's possessions and property as Ananthiravan (heir).

There is another account which says that the Cochin Rajah is not a real descendant of the last Cheraman Perumal, but that his family is descended from the fifteenth Perumal, called Mada Perumal (vide Kerala Ulppathy, page 18), and that they resided on the western bank of the broad back-water, Bampanaud Kayal, a few miles north of Alleppey, and in the Share-

talay district. The locality is still called Madathinkaray, and tradition shows that the Cochin Rajah had a residence there till the district fell into the Travancore sovereign's hands. CHAP.
I

The above view was adopted by Kookel Kelu Nair, in his memorandum published in the Madras Literary Society's Journal already alluded to. He says: "Again there is no ground to suppose that the Cochin Rajah is descended from the said Veera Kerala, for, from various authors, it is clear that the Cochin Rajah is descended from Mada Perumal, one of the predecessors of the last Perumal, and therefore, even up to this day the Cochin Rajahs are called Mada Bhootatis or Mada Rajahs." This may perhaps account for the general belief that the Cochin Rajah is a Soorya Vamsa Kshatria, for, if his family were descended from the last Cheraman Perumal, it must be a Soma Vamsa Kshatria, as that Viceroy was a Soma Kshatria, as has been already shown.

Kerala Ulppathy says in its forty-second page, that the last Perumal gave his sword and two small pieces of land to an attaché of his (an Eradi), with the title *Kunnala Konathiri* (Zamorin), and also that a few Arabs, residing at the locality were made over to him.

Such is the origin of the Cochin Rajah and of the Zamorin of Calicut, as narrated in the Kerala Ulppathy, which account appears to be fully corroborated by tradition.

The king of Chera (Travancore), had been till then the Emperor of Kerala, but the principal seat of royalty was gradually transferred to the southern part and embodied with its branch, as we have already stated.

The nephew of king Veera Kerala Vurmah ruled the kingdom satisfactorily during his reign; he established a residency at Kulladay, south-east of Quilon, where he consecrated a pagoda, and established

CHAP. I. villages, &c. The successor of this king, whose name is unknown, did not govern his kingdom ably and well, and tradition has it that since that time other powers in the north commenced to rise and prosper in Southern India.

For the next two or three hundred years, we find no precise accounts of the affairs of north Kerala; it was the period of the flourishing dynasties of Kadamba and Chalukya, and northern Kerala had been subject to the supremacy of those powers. During this interval, there was an alliance between Travancore and the Kolathnaud Rajahs to repel the invaders of northern Kerala.

In the Kali year 3831 (731 A.D.), the Travancore king, Veera Marthanda Vurmah, performed Hirannya Garbham and Thulapurusha danam and ruled the kingdom for a long time. His nephew succeeded him as usual. This sovereign, whose real name it is difficult to find, died in the Kali year 3902 and was succeeded by his nephew, Udaya Marthanda Vurmah, who was an educated and highly accomplished monarch. His rule was very prosperous and more remarkable than that of many of his predecessors.

At this period, the Travancore royal family resided at different places and was commonly known by five different denominations, viz., (Vanavanaud) Venaud, (Sreevalumcode) Thiruvithancode, (Sreepatha) Trippappoor, (Sreevey) Sheravaye and (Jayuthunaganaud) Desinganaud Swaroopams.

All these five Swaroopams, when collectively referred to, were styled either Venadu, Travancore or Trippappoor, and sovereignty was assumed under these three designations only. Latterly they became to be known exclusively under one name, i.e., Travancore.

In the Kali year 3926 (825 A.D.), when king Udaya Marthanda Vurmah was residing in Kollam (Quilon), he convened a council of all the learned men of Kerala with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches,

and calculating the solar movements throughout the twelve signs of the zodiac, and counting scientifically the number of days occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chingam of that year, 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year.

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I

This arrangement was approved of by all the wise men of the time, and every neighbouring country began to adopt the same. And this system of reckoning the year, continues up to the present day throughout Keralam, as well as in every part of the kingdom of Chera, then possessed by the king of Travancore. This era has been adopted by other kings also, as we see that in Madura, Tinnevely, and other countries, the Kollam era is commonly used in reckoning the year. Stone inscriptions are generally found in Tinnevely, and other localities, which corroborate this statement. The old records in the Trevandrum pagoda shew that on the 5th Chingam of the first Kollam year, *i.e.*, five days after the promulgation of the new year, the members of the five royal Houses of the Travancore family, the Swamyar, (ecclesiastical head), and all the nobility, &c., assembled in the Trevandrum pagoda and introduced certain new rules or ordinances for the conduct of the daily, monthly, and yearly performances of poojas and other ceremonies in the pagoda. These rules are still in force in the said pagoda.

In these old writings, it is found recorded that king "Cheraman Perumal" (not the Viceroy), laid the foundation stone of this pagoda, and that he passed all the ordinances appertaining to the pagoda, and appointed certain classes and castes of men for the different duties of the Devaswam.

In the Kollam year 5, (830 A.D.), Udaya Marthanda Vurmah, Kulasekhara Perumal died, but his successor's name and the particulars of his reign are not traceable from the records. The names and other

CHAP. I. particulars of many of the succeeding kings are also not in the records.

The Panthalam Rajah, now a pensioned feudatory chief of Travancore, was a subordinate Kshatria Rajah under the Pandyan king, and his family was privileged to wed the females of the Chera or Travancore royal family. This chief emigrated to Travancore under the sanction of the then sovereign, as is recorded in a copper-plate writing, dated 11th Purattasi Kollam year 79, (904 A.D.)

It was about this period that the combined army of Travancore and Koluthnaud drove out the Bellalas from Kerala, and pursued the fugitives into the Dravida country. Subsequently the kings of Travancore and Koluthnaud reverted to the enjoyment of their respective possessions originally assigned to them by Parasu Rama, *i.e.*, the former from Korempulay (the great river) to the south, and the latter from that stream to the north.

On northern Kerala being cleared of the outsiders, the local chieftains began to rise and much fighting amongst them resulted.

The Eradi, whom the Perumal called Kunnala Kon or Konathiri, as the Kerala Ulppathy calls him, and to whom the Perumal gave his sword, now rose up, and with the assistance of the Arabs, conquered almost all the northern chiefs, acquired large territories between Ponnani and northern Kollam, and established himself as a powerful monarch assuming the title "Nediviruppu Swaroopan" (the greatly spread power.)

Kerala Ulppathy narrates the particulars of the Zamorin's military exploits and victories (*vide*, pages 46 to 56.)

The last Perumal, Bhaskara Revi Vurmah, was, as stated above, far more popular than all the other Perumals, and he was held in such great veneration and affection by the people, as well as by all the chiefs

throughout Keralam that he was considered by most of the people as an incarnation of Vishnu, and many even worshipped him as a deity. This Perumal's image, together with that of his wife, were cast in metal and placed in the Thiruvunjicolum pagoda. CHAP.
I.

The Cochin Rajah, being considered the legitimate heir to the Perumal, rose in the estimation of the people, especially of the Syrian community, who were rich and very influential, some of them being merchants carrying on business between Kodungalore and Quilon, and greatly attached to the chief ever since the end of the Perumal rule. In the course of a few years the Cochin Rajah also became a great power, and like the Zamorin, changed his title and declared himself Perinpadappu Swaroopam (the highly extended or stretched power). As almost all the northern subjects of Travancore acknowledged the Cochin chief as king, the title "Perinpadappu, applied to Cochin was not inappropriate." The then reigning king of Travancore being of a quiet and peaceable disposition, the ascendancy of Cochin was easily established. Hence, the king of Travancore lost his sovereignty over almost all his northern possessions, and the dominions of the Travancore sovereign were reduced to small dimensions, i.e., between Edavaye near Vurkalay in the north, Erratta Malay (eastern side of Udayagherry) in the south, to a distance of about seventy miles in length and twenty miles in breadth: Nanjenda and all other southern possessions having been assumed by the Pandyan king. Sree Vurddhanapuram (Padmanabhapuram), Sree Valumcode (Thiruvithancode) were at the time the capitals of the kingdom. This little possession, we find, was ruled without any disturbance, either externally or internally, for a long period. During this period, two members of the Travancore royal family were adopted into that of Madathinkoor Swaroopam (Mavalikarai,) which was originally related to the Travancore royal family, being a branch of the Kola

CHAP. family and thus the territories under that petty State,
 1. became again subjected to Travancore.

In the Kollam year 225 (1050 A.D.) the ancient pagoda at Trevandrum was rebuilt by a Travancore sovereign, whose name is not known.

About this period, the Pandyan kingdom was invaded by the Mahommedans and the then reigning king Paracrama Pandyan was taken prisoner. Having sent him to Delhi, the Mahommedans took possession of Madura. On this occasion, the tutelary god of Madura was taken to Travancore for better security.* The king of Travancore afforded an asylum, without showing the least ill-will to the Pandyans for wrongs done to Travancore in appropriating territories which were parts of his dominions.

During the Mahommedan rule of the Pandyan kingdom, which rule appears to have continued for about half a century, one Nanja Koraven, a feudatory chief under Travancore obtained possession of Nanjenaud, the southern part of Travancore, and established himself there as a ruler. Subsequent to the conquest of Mysore by the Mahommedans and the relief of the Madura kingdom, Nanja Koraven and his confederacy were driven away by the king of Travancore in the Kollam year 292 (1117 A.D.)

In 345 K.E. (1170 A.D.) the Panthalam family, to whom we have already alluded, appears to have received some territorial grants from the king of Travancore, in consideration of that family having taken up their residence in Keralam.

In like manner, the present Poonjat Rajah, who was a close relation of the Pandyan dynasty emigrated to Travancore, and the hill territories of Poonjar were assigned as the residence of his family, during the reign of king Adithya Vurmah of Travancore in 364 M.E. (1189 A.D.)

* Rev. H. Taylor, vol. 1, pages 33 and 35.

During the 5th century M.E., and in the reign of king Adithya Vurmah, the Travancore royal family was under the necessity of adopting two females from the Kolathnaud royal family, and a royal residence was constructed at Attingal,* for the residence of the two Ranees, and they were installed as Attingal Mootha Thumpuran and Elia Thumpuran, *i. e.*, senior and junior Ranees of Attingal. The country around Attingal was assigned to them, and the revenue derived therefrom was placed at their disposal. CHAP.
I

King Adithya Vurmah extended his sovereignty over some of the northern Devaswams, as the accounts of the renowned pagoda at Vycome shew that in 505 M.E. (1330 A.D.), that sovereign had assumed authority over the affairs of that Devaswam.

The reigning king died and the eldest son of the senior Ranee of Attingal, Sree Veera Rama Marthanda Vurmah, who was then in his 28th year was installed on the musnud in 510 M.E. (1335 A.D.)

This king reconstructed the palace near the pagoda at Trevandrum and built a Fort round it.

His government was most prosperous, and his reign which ended with his death in 550 M.E. (1376 A.D.), lasted for a period of forty years.

He was succeeded by his third brother, Eravi Vurmah, who resided at Trevandrum like his deceased brother, and ruled the kingdom with great credit to himself and to the entire satisfaction of his subjects. His Highness was anxious to perform the coronation ceremonies and collected the necessary funds for the same. While the preparations were advancing for their performance, the sovereign died in 557 M.E. (1382 A.D.) after a reign of seven years; he was succeeded by his nephew, Kerala Vurmah, who, soon

* Attingal is the name of the maternal house of the Rajah of Travancore. In all Malabar, there is no queen-mother who possesses so much influence in public affairs as here.

Wiescher's Letters from Malabar, by Major Drury, page 53.

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I

after he ascended the musnud, performed the coronation ceremonies, and became "Kulasekhara Perumal," but His Highness died three months after his coronation.

Kerala Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal, was succeeded by his twin-brother Chera Udaya Marthanda Vurmah.

The reign of this sovereign was longer than that of all the Travancore monarchs.

His Highness ascended the musnud, while he was sixteen years of age, and died at the ripe age of seventy-eight after a reign of sixty-two years.

His reign was of a mixed character, partly attended with prosperity, and partly with troubles and annoyances, as is natural during such a long period, in which many vicissitudes must be expected.

His Highness Chera Udaya Marthanda Vurmah performed the coronation ceremonies, and was styled "Kulasekhara Perumal."

During the reign of this sovereign all the south-eastern possessions of Travancore on the Tinnevely side were regained, and the sovereign often resided at Valliyoore and Chera Maha Devi.

In consequence of the mild and unwarlike disposition of this king, some of the subordinate chiefs in the East became refractory, and there was constant fighting and latterly, while this sovereign was residing at Trevandrum, the chief of Rettiaapuram invaded Valliyoore, and the king's nephew being defeated in battle fearing disgrace, committed suicide.

In these places, several grants of lands made by this Kulasekhara Perumal, remain some of which we have already noticed. Chera Maha Devi was his favorite residence, and consequently, this sovereign was called Chera Udaya Marthanda Vurmah.

Towards the close of his reign, suspecting unfair proceedings on the part of the chief men of the Pandyan State, the residence of the royal family was



removed to Elayadathunaud Hottarakaray; and a Governor was appointed to rule Valliyoor and other possessions in the East. CHAP.
I

This sovereign died in 619 M.E. (1444 A.D.), at the ripe age of seventy-eight years. He was succeeded by Venaud Mootha Rajah, who reigned for fourteen years, and died in 638 M.E. (1458 A.D.).

From this year up to 855 M.E. (1680 A.D.), a period of about two and a quarter centuries, no detailed accounts of the reigns of the sovereigns can be found, except a list of their names, the dates of their accession to the musnud and the period of their reign.

His Highness Venauds Mootha Rajah was succeeded by Sree Veera Marthanda Vurmah, who after a reign of thirteen years died in 646 M.E. (1471 A.D.), and was succeeded by Adithya Vurmah whose reign lasted only seven years.

The successor of this sovereign was Eravi Vurmah, who was installed on the musnud in 653 M.E. (1478 A.D.), and ruled the country for twenty-five years, and the successor Eravi Vurmah Sree Marthanda Vurmah died in the very year of his installation.

In 679 M.E. (1504 A.D.), Sree Veera Eravi Vurmah assumed the sovereignty, and governed the kingdom for twenty-four years, and on His Highness' death in 703 M.E. (1528 A.D.), king Marthanda Vurmah succeeded him and ruled for nine years. He was succeeded by Udaya Marthanda Vurmah in 712 M.E. (1537 A.D.), who governed the kingdom for a period of twenty-three years, and died in 735 M.E. (1560 A.D.) This sovereign was succeeded by Kerala Vurmah, who ruled only for three years. On his death in 738 M.E. (1563 A.D.), he was succeeded by Adithya Vurmah who died in the fourth year of his reign. Udaya Marthanda Vurmah was then installed on the musnud in 742 M.E. (1567 A.D.), and ruled for a period of twenty-seven years, when he died.

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In 769 M.E. (1594 A.D.), Sree Veera Eravi Vurmah assumed the sovereignty, and after performing the coronation ceremonies took the family title "Kulasekhara Perumal." Several of this sovereign's predecessors were unable to perform the coronation ceremony on account of difficulties in collecting the revenue, or in consequence of the obstructions thrown by the feudatory chiefs and nobles, as well as the Ettu Veetil Pillamars.

Sree Veera Eravi Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal ruled for ten years and died in 779 M.E. (1604 A.D.), and was succeeded by Sree Veera Vurmah, whose rule having ended after two years, Ravi Vurmah ascended the musnud in 781 M.E. (1606 A.D.), and ruled for thirteen years.

Unny Kerala Vurmah was the successor of the last mentioned sovereign and he began to reign in 794 M.E. (1619 A.D.); and ruled the country for six years. His successor Ravi Vurmah, who commenced his reign in 800 M.E. (1625 A.D.), reigned six years and died, and was succeeded by Unny Kerala Vurmah in 806 M.E. (1631 A.D.), and he ruled the country for a period of thirty years.

King Adithya Vurmah succeeded in 836 M.E. (1661 A.D.), and died in the sixteenth year of his reign, under shocking circumstances, occasioned by the inhuman conduct of the feudatories and the combined artifices of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and the Devaswam association.

Some particulars are to be found concerning these events, and the disloyal proceedings of the feudatories against the king's government.

As has already been stated the re-organization of the ecclesiastical society in 225 M.E. (1050 A.D.) which was called Ettara Yogom amounted to this. A society was formed consisting of eight and a "half members" of whom eight were Potty Brahmans, each of whom pretended to have the privilege of a casting vote, and the sovereign, who was considered half member, had

no vote in the transactions of the Devaswam affairs. By such an arrangement, the affairs of the Devaswam became virtually vested in the hands of the eight Potty Brahmans, and they began to work the institution through their attachés the Ettu Veetil Pillamar, who were the representatives of eight noble families. The sovereign had little or no influence over the Devaswam, and was simply required to be present at the usual periodical ceremonies. CHAP.
I

The power of this Yogakar and the association become so great, that the records show that they even imposed heavy fines upon the sovereign for wrongs done to the Devaswam institution.

This Devaswam possessed extensive landed property, which was then called Sree Pundara Vaca (belonging to the holy treasury.) Its sole managers were the Yogakar, who had all the powers of despotic rulers over the Devaswam property, and over every one of the tenants and holders of the Devaswam lands. The Ettu Veetil Pillamar were entrusted with the collection of the Devaswam revenue, and the villages, where the Devaswam lands lay, were divided into eight Adhikarems. Each of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar was appointed a collector over the Adhikarem, with the powers of a petty chief.

The king having little or no authority over these men, they rose in power and importance, and gradually became supreme lords in their villages, and in time the Madempimar (nobles and petty chiefs,) who were not loyally attached to the crown, were also influenced by the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and the combination became a powerful one.

The principal royal residence was at Sreevalumcode about thirty miles from the Devaswam head station (Trevandrum,) which was solely under the despotic rule of the Yogakar and the Ettu Veetil Pillamar for a period of two hundred and thirty-five years, and so the re-construction of a royal residency at Trevandrum in 510 M.E., was not quite to the liking

CHAP. I. of the Yogakar, whose feelings were roused when the sovereign began to watch their proceedings and insist upon having the accounts, connected with the income and expenditure of the Devaswam submitted periodically to his inspection.

Though the king's command was resisted by the Yogakar, Sree Veera Marthanda Vurmah, from whom originated the proposal, quietly, but effectually, gained a step in the right direction, and, during his reign of forty years, His Highness established his authority, in a measure, over the Devaswam.

This sovereign's two successors maintained the policy of their predecessor Sree Veera Rama Marthanda Vurmah, in regard to Devaswam affairs; but subsequently the Yogakar and the Ettu Veetil Pillamar seem to have regained their ascendancy, and they gradually began to oppose the royal power,

During the reign of seventeen sovereigns, (from Venaud Mootha Rajah downwards to Unny Kerala Vurmah) extending over a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years, the opposition and annoyance from the Yogakar and Ettu Veetil Pillamar and their confederates the Madempimars continued, and a hostile faction of the royalists and the confederates, existed, but through the vigilant and careful government of those sovereigns, no open outbreak occurred.

Adithya Vurmah, whose death in 852 M.E. (1677 A.D.), occurred under some noteworthy circumstances, was of a very quiet and mild disposition, and from his younger days, he led a retired and religious life, and became more like a spiritual minister than a king.

The confederates, taking advantage of this, began to oppose the royalists and to carry on every sort of oppression, to the extreme annoyance of the royal family, while the sovereign quietly submitted to all their misdeeds.

On a certain night, the king's palace at Trevandrum was found to be on fire, but not a single person among

the villagers or the Devaswam people, who resided round the palace, would venture to come forward to extinguish the fire, and the whole of the palace and its out-houses were reduced to ashes before day-break. CHAP. I.

King Adithya Varmah and the royal family retired to a small palace constructed for the residence of the Elia Rajah, heir apparent, some years before on the top of a small hill on the western side of the river Killiar, and surrounded by a little fort called Puthencotta (new fort) built with mud walls, and His Highness resided here for some time; but soon after the burning of the palace, and the king's retiring to Puthencotta, the leaders of the confederates repaired in a body to Puthencotta, and requested an audience of the king which was granted. They pretended to know nothing of the fire that destroyed the palace, attributed it to mere accident, expressed their deep regret at the occurrence and professed to sympathize with the king.

His Highness being, as already said, a devotee, after expressing his resignation to the dispensation of Providence accepted the assurances of the confederates without the slightest suspicion.

But this interview was sought by the confederates with the most diabolical intentions, for the Yogakar began to forward to the king, every day, *Nivedyams*, i. e., sweetmeat offered to the image of Padmanabha Swamy for pooja, and one day this being mixed with poison, the king, partook of it, became ill and died suddenly.

The whole royal family at the time of the king's death, consisted of one female, the king's niece named Umayamma Ranee, and her six male children, all under age.

On the death of the king the confederates went to Puthencotta palace, offered their condolences to the Ranee, and gave their assurances of allegiance to Her Highness and the young Princes; they then began to

CHAP. 1. resort to the palace pretending to guard it against the intrusion of disaffected and rebellious subjects.

On a certain moonlight night, a few boys of the confederate party, who were of the same ages as the five Princes, were playing with them at the Puthencotta palace. One of the boys proposed to the Princes (doubtless at the instigation of the confederates), to go to a tank or reservoir, situated a few furlongs distant from the western side of the palace, and to play on a white sandy plain and bathe in the crystal water. The young Princes proceeded with the boys, without the knowledge of their unfortunate mother, and while they were bathing, shocking to relate, some men from the confederate party appeared there under the pretext of bathing, and seized the Princes and suffocated them under water: they left the bodies to float in the tank and went away, telling the boys to inform the people at the palace that the Princes were unfortunately drowned in the tank while bathing.

The tank, with which this tragical event is associated and which the confederates contemptuously called Kalippan Kulam (a reservoir for amusement), is at Manacaud, a few furlongs south of the Trevandrum fort, on the western side of Puthencotta.

The Ranee, on receiving this unexpected melancholy intelligence, though plunged in extreme sorrow, performed the funeral ceremonies of her murdered children by burning their bodies at the very spot where their late murdered grand uncle's body was burnt. The unfortunate Ranee now saw things in their true light and looking up to heaven, cursed the murderers of Her Highness' pious uncle and her innocent children.

There was now no male member in the royal family, except Umayamma Ranee's only son, aged nine years, to succeed to the musnud, and therefore Her Highness Umayamma Ranee became Queen Regent in 852 M.E. (1677 A.D.)

After a short residence in the palace at Puthencotta, Her Highness, finding the place unsafe for herself and the young Prince, abandoned it and proceeded to Neduvangaud, and resided in the little palace there, taking with her the royal Thavaree (the household priest), the palace Kariakar (Premier), Sumprathy (the Secretary), and other servants of the State, together with the palace establishment. This was done solely for the protection of Her Highness' son from the evil designs of the hostile confederates.

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I.

It may be stated here that Providence heard the curse pronounced by the bereaved mother, for the spot where the castle and fort called Puthencotta once stood, and where the poisoned body of the pious Adithiya Vurmah Rajah and the bodies of the murdered Princes were burnt, was subsequently converted into a Hindu burial ground, where to this day numbers of dead bodies are daily cremated. The very race of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and Madepimar, who caused those inhuman murders was, in the course of fifty-six years, extirpated in a more violent and atrocious manner. The reservoir originally a fine large tank, on the banks of which there was an extensive milk-white sandy plain bounded by cocoanut, cashewnut, jack, and other fruit trees, was the common resort of all the Brahmans and other residents of the village for the purpose of bathing and recreation but subsequent to the above event, it was abandoned, and became a desolate plain. People feared to approach the spot, and, ultimately, the tank was filled with sand and used for depositing the carcasses of horses, cattle, dogs, and such other animals, as died in the town and the suburbs of Trevandrum.

The reigning Princess Umayamma remained for some time at Neduvangaud. She was obliged to cease interfering with government affairs from her fear of the confederates, who, if offended, the Ranee thought would injure her only son by some dastardly plot.

At this critical time dissensions broke out amongst

CHAP.
I. the confederates, and each feudatory chief became sole master of his own possessions, and misrule and anarchy prevailed throughout every part of the country.

Taking advantage of this state of affairs in Travancore, in 855 M.E. (1680 A.D.), a petty sirdar, under the Mogul Emperor, wandering in the southern part of the Peninsula, with a number of horsemen and plundering the unprotected territories, invaded the southern part of Travancore and carried on depredations among the population. None of the nobles and chiefs being able to oppose the sirdar or arrest his progress; he advanced to Trevandrum and made his head quarters there.

The Devaswam Yogakar, fearing contamination, and the consequent loss of caste, shut the Trevandrum pagoda and fled for their lives. The Ettu Veetil Pillamar and Madempimar adopted the same course, leaving the country at the mercy of the Mogul sirdar, who was then at liberty to lay waste the country with fire and sword and compel the people to become Mahomedans. But fortunately for the kingdom, such a calamity was warded off by a few faithful Patans or Mahomedan servants attached to the Travancore house who remained after the flight of the Ranee to Neduvangaud.

These sirdars presented themselves before the Mogul and brought to his notice the circumstances that led to the proceedings of the confederates and of the departure of the bereaved Ranee from her royal residence. They seem to have been successful in persuading the Mogul sirdar not to demolish or contaminate the Trevandrum pagoda and other places of worship, or to convert any of the Hindus to Mohamedanism.

The Mogul sirdar exercised his power up to Edavaye in the north, and became sole master of the country between Thovalay and Edavaye on the coast line of Travancore, but he did not venture to proceed to Neduvangaud.

Possibly, out of some regard for the people and their sovereign, and also owing to the persuasion of the royalist Mahomedans, the Mogul chief encamped at Manacaud, outside the town of Trevandrum and remained there during his sway.

CHAP.

I

Though the sirdar did not attempt to convert the Hindus, still he insisted upon the Nairs adopting many of the Mahomedan customs, and they were compelled to do so. Some of these customs the Sudras still retain as useful and convenient.

The customs thus forced upon the Sudras, who reside between Vurkalay and Velavancode, and which are still observed by that community are the following :—

First.—Males to cover their heads and females to cover their bodies when they get out of doors.

Second.—Males to have the circumcision ceremony performed before they attain ten years of age.

Third.—That during the marriage ceremony, the relatives and the intimate friends of the family should sit like the Mahomedans in a circle and eat their meal from one vessel, having their heads covered while eating.

Fourth.—Sudra females should encircle their bodies with a cloth like the males, and abandon the mode of dressing in vogue among their sisters in the north.

Fifth.—Every child, on being weaned, should have a handkerchief tied round its head.

Sixth.—Females should have their forehead, chin, and hands tattooed; the designs being either of simple spots or plants, leaves, flowers, &c., &c.

All these are of common observance even now among the lower order of Sudras between Quilon and Kulculam; but the higher orders of Sudras seem to have shaken them off retaining only the first, viz., the covering of their head, by the males, and the shoulders, by the females.

CHAP.
I

Her Highness Umayamma Ranee, finding it difficult to recover her kingdom from the hands of the Mogul sirdar while her feudatories and militia were animated by a spirit of disloyalty towards her government, invited one Kerala Vurmah, a member of the northern Cottayam Rajah's family, a branch of the sovereign of Kolathnaud, and related to the Travancore royal house.

Rajah Kerala Vurmah was a brave warrior, perfect in sword exercise, arrow-shooting and in the use of other weapons of war.

This Rajah was appointed Her Highness' principal counsellor, and commander of all the militia then on the side of the royalists.

Kerala Vurmah lost no time in raising a force armed with bows and arrows, slings, swords and lances.

The Rajah, under his personal command led the army against the Mogul sirdar and attacked him unexpectedly at Manacaud near Trevandrum. As the sirdar had not a sufficient force near him, all his horsemen having been scattered about between Vurkalay and Thovalay collecting the revenue, he was unable to make a stand and was obliged to retreat precipitately to Thovalay. Kerala Vurmah pursued him and the sirdar was reinforced by a party of horsemen from Thovalay and the other southern districts. He made a stand near the side of a hill at Thiruvatar, and a severe battle ensued. While the jungles, and rocks with which the locality was covered, presented insuperable obstacles to the Mogul sirdar's cavalry and threw it into confusion; they afforded the Rajah's archers and slingers convenient positions for attack and defence. While the conflict was going on, many of the horsemen were killed and, unfortunately for the sirdar, a nest of wasps, on one of the trees under which he was fighting on horseback, was disturbed by the throwing of a stone from one of the slings and the insects came down in swarms, and stung him on his face and ears. On his attempting to dismount his

horse, being stung by the wasps, threw its rider and ran away. Scarcely had the sirdar fallen on the side of the rock than hundreds of arrows pierced his body. Nor were the slingers idle, for they poured on the head of the great commander a volley of stones. The fallen chief was soon killed and his army was utterly defeated. CHAP.
I.

Kerala Vurmah arranged at once to capture the remaining horses, and to seize as many of the troopers as could be got. He succeeded in securing some three hundred horses and about a hundred prisoners with many swords, lances and other excellent weapons belonging to the enemy.

The Rajah marched victoriously to Trevandrum, which Her Highness the Ranee also reached with her son and all the palace establishment. They soon rebuilt the palace at Trevandrum.

Kerala Vurmah Rajah organized at once a battalion of cavalry with the three hundred horses secured at the battle, one regiment of archers, and one regiment of swordsmen and posted them in three different parts at Trevandrum.

After this, the Rajah found no difficulty in bringing to obedience all the refractory chiefs and nobles. The Yogakar and the Ettu Veetil Pillamar were cowed, and became obedient to Her Highness the Ranee.

The fort and palace at Puthencotta were broken up, and with the materials two buildings were constructed inside the Trevandrum fort. One was called Valia Koikel, and the other Thevarathu Koikel, and Kerala Vurmah Rajah occupied the former building.

The disaffected Madempimar and Ettu Veetil Pillamar and others perceiving that the strength of Her Highness the Ranee's Government rested with Kerala Vurmah, conspired against him. They concocted measures for his destruction and on a certain night he was assassinated in his own residence, but who the murderers were remains to this day a mystery.

CHAP. I. In 859 M.E. (1684 A.D.), Umayamma Ranee's son, Prince Revi Vurmah, attained his sixteenth year, and in accordance with the custom of the country, the sovereignty was transferred by Her Highness Umayamma Ranee, to the Prince who was duly installed on the musnud.

As Kerala Vurmah had adopted all the necessary measures for the protection of the royal family from the inroads of the feudatories, the new sovereign found no difficulty in governing the kingdom and affording satisfaction to His Highness' aged mother, who had been a total stranger to the comforts of life from the earliest period of her career.

The Dowager Ranee being old, and there being no other member of the royal family, save the Ranee's reigning son, the adoption of some new members became necessary. The Kolathnaud sovereign was accordingly asked to send some members of his family as usual, but after hesitating a good deal, in consequence of the assassination of Rajah Kerala Vurmah, he ultimately acceded to the Travancore Ranee's wishes and sent two females and two males for adoption into the Travancore royal family.

The name of the elder male was Unny Kerala Vurmah and that of his brother Rama Vurmah. A year after this adoption, the Dowager Ranee died and was followed to the grave by the elder of the two adopted Ranees, and the junior Ranee was the only surviving female member of the royal family, who now became Attingal Mootha Thumpuran. This Ranee gave birth to a Prince in 881 M.E. (1706 A.D.) This Prince whose name was Marthanda Vurmah, distinguished himself above all other sovereigns and received the well-merited title of saviour of the kingdom of Travancore.

The reigning sovereign Revi Vurmah, was highly delighted at the birth of this Prince, and spent in commemoration of the event a good deal of money in

charity, donations, &c., in accordance with the pre-
scriptions of the Hindu Sastras. CHAP.
I

In 898 M.E. (1718 A.D.), king Revi Vurmah died, and the eldest of the adopted Princes, Unny Kerala Vurmah was proclaimed king of Travancore. This sovereign was of a quiet and weak disposition, and consequently, the mischief-making confederates began to acquire strength. In the course of two years, they became once more powerful. To add to these misfortunes, all the organised forces of the able and wise commander Kerala Vurmah, which had been maintained by Revi Vurmah, during his reign of thirty-four years, were disbanded or scattered over the country, or took service under the feudatory chiefs.

Though he was only fourteen years old, Prince Marthanda Vurmah could not tolerate such a state of things, and His Highness therefore earnestly requested his uncle, the then reigning sovereign, to permit him to take an active interest in the affairs of Government, and the sovereign being pleased with the energy and intelligence of the youth, permitted him to do as he chose and make such arrangements as he found necessary, in consultation with the officers of the State.

Armed with such powers, the Prince lost no time in adopting measures for checking the rebellious spirit of the confederacy. The Yogakar, Ettu Veetil Pillamar and Madempimar, in their turn became inveterate enemies of the Prince, and began to seek measures for his destruction.

The confederates cared very little for the reigning sovereign, but were greatly afraid of the Prince; they were therefore determined to take his life at all hazards, and set to work for the attainment of this object.

Under these disagreeable circumstances, the Prince was obliged to shift from place to place to avoid falling into the hands of the assassins.

CHAP.
I.

Finding it unsafe to reside always at Trevandrum, the Prince was obliged to proceed under disguise and to remain for short periods in the palaces of Sreevalumcode, Neduvangaud, Mavalikarai, Attingal, &c., &c.

At different times and places, this Prince was waylaid and was nearly falling into the hands of the confederates; but in every instance he providentially escaped.

On a certain occasion, the Prince had to conceal himself in the interior of a pagoda which was immediately surrounded by the confederate party, when his life was saved by the stratagem of the faithful priest of the pagoda. It was about dusk, and the escape of the Prince was miraculous. The priest quickly transferred his clothes and ornaments to the prince and putting a quantity of boiled rice in a brass vessel on the Prince's head, told him to walk out muttering manthrams, like a priest, and to whisper to the mob that the Prince was lying concealed inside the pagoda. As he walked out, the priest putting on the Prince's dress walked about inside the pagoda peeping here and there as if he was in a state of great anxiety. Seeing this the mob entered the pagoda, fell upon the counterfeit prince, dragged him out and killed him forthwith.

During his wanderings, the Prince had to sleep on the tops of trees, under the roofs of poor peasants, as well as in the midst of jungles, like Charles II of England.

After six years reign, Unny Kerala Vurmah died, and was succeeded by his younger brother Rama Vurmah in 899 M.E. (1724 A.D.), who was junior uncle to Prince Marthanda Vurmah.

Some time previous to the death of this Rajah, a female member of the Kolathnaud family was adopted as a Princess of Travancore, and Her Highness gave birth to a Prince in the Kollum year 899. This was the renowned Rama Rajah, generally called Dharma Rajah.

His Highness Rama Vurmah was more fond of his nephew than his deceased brother, and was also more resolute than several of his predecessors. CHAP.
I.

His Highness was a close observer of the difficulties and dangers to which his nephew was subjected by the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and Madempimar, and he was determined to punish them for their disloyalty and rebellious conduct.

His Highness, in consultation with his intelligent nephew, proceeded in 901 M.E. (1726 A.D.), to Trinopolis with some of the officers of the State: he entered into a treaty with the Madura Government and secured its support by offering to renew the lapsed attachment to that crown, and to bind himself to pay a certain sum of money annually. At the same time, a suitable force was applied for to punish and bring to their senses the Madempimar and other refractory chiefs. After some discussion and preliminary enquiries, the sovereign was successful in obtaining a force consisting of one thousand cavalry, under the command of M. Vencatapathy Naiken, and two thousand Carnatic sepoy, headed by Thripathy Naiken, and others in charge of fifty sirdars, including Raghava Iyen and Subba Iyen, &c.

On the arrival of this force in Travancore, all the Madempimar and other refractory chiefs and insurgents fled, and consequently there was no work for the army which was however retained for the purpose of overawing the insurgents.

Though the refractory chiefs were thus kept under restraint, the Yogakar and the Ettu Veetil Pillamar at Trevandrum could not be brought to a sense of their duty, for they knew full well that the sovereign could not adopt harsh measures against the Devaswam community. They continued their arrogant conduct to the annoyance of the royal family, and consequently, Prince Marthanda Vurmah was obliged to reside at Mavalikarai and Attingal, with the senior Rancee and her son, the little Prince Rama Vurmah.

CHAP.
I

In 903 M.E. (1728 A.D.), when this Prince was being taken to Attingal from Trevandrum, a party of men, under the Ettu Veetil Pillamar met at a place called Calakoottem, headed by Ramanammadathil Pillay for the purpose of assassinating the Ranee and the Prince, but providentially both escaped unhurt by the vigilant measures adopted by Kilimanoor Koil Thumpuran, who was escorting the party. Koil Thumpuran, after sending away the Ranee and the Prince, under disguise to a neighbouring village, got into the Ranee's palanquin and moved forward, with all the attendants, and thus drew the attention of the party towards the palanquin. When the turbulent crowd neared the palanquin, and commenced the attack, the Koil Thumpuran jumped out sword in hand and cut to pieces many of the assailants. Unfortunately, however, the Thumpuran perished in the conflict.

In recognition of the faithful conduct of the Koil Thumpuran, grants of land, embracing a whole village called Kilimanoor, was given to the family of this distinguished hero and saviour of the Ranee's and Prince's lives. The grant is enjoyed by the family up to the present day.*

In the same year 903 M.E. (1728 A.D.), king Rama Vurmah died after a short illness, deeply lamented by the royal family, especially by His Highness' fondly attached nephew Prince Marthanda Vurmah.

The system of government and the mode of collecting the revenue appear to have been continued without any material change for a long period, but in the reign of the late king Revi Vurmah, who assumed the sovereignty in 859 M.E. (1684 A.D.), some alterations, in the existing system were introduced, which appear to be the following :

* A descendant of this Koil Thumpuran is now attached to the palace of the present Maha Rajah and has distinguished himself as an artist. For his drawings Revi Vurmah Koil Thumpuran has received gold medals awarded at the Fine Arts Exhibition at Calcutta, Madras, and Vienna.

The old system was that the revenue of every petty ^{CHAP.} district should be roughly calculated, and the local chief was made responsible for the collection of the same, deducting the amount assigned for the performance of Devaswam and other religious ceremonies, for the maintenance of the militia and the collection of revenue.

The State establishment then consisted of one Valia Kariacar (Prime Minister), one Neetaluthu Pillay, one Rayasom Pillay (head clerk), and several Rayasoms and Kanacka Pillays (writers and accountants). The Minister and all his establishment held office in the palace, and the king presided over them. Every question, whether petty or important, was submitted for the king's decision, without whose order nothing was to be executed.

Commercial speculations seem to have engaged the attention of even the earliest Travancore kings; for Travancore seems to have had dealings with foreign nations from the remotest period, and pepper, cassia, areca-nut, &c., &c., were bartered for Chinese, Arabian, and Roman goods and manufactures.

The Greeks, the Egyptians, the Romans, the Danes, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English were the nations with whom Travancore had commercial relations.

The Romans had from a very early period perfect toleration given them to promulgate Christianity throughout Travancore, and grants of lands were bestowed for erecting churches.

The Danes were permitted to erect a factory at Edavaye to carry on traffic.

The Portuguese were also allowed to establish themselves as merchants at Poracaud, Quilon, Neendacaray and several other petty sea-ports, soon after their arrival in India.

The Dutch received aid in their attempts to sup-

CHAP. 1. plant the Portuguese and establish themselves all along the sea-coast between Colachel and Cochin.

The English had a grant of some land at Anjengo for the opening of a factory contemporaneously with the establishment of their factories on the Malabar coast; and subsequently permission was given them for building a fort there. They always received warm support from Travancore in all their subsequent undertakings.

All these nations were treated very kindly and with respect by the kings of Travancore in times when European nations were but half-civilized. The kings cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of Europeans and gave to each and every one of them the valuable products of Travancore especially pepper, without showing partiality and without giving cause for quarrels among them, though at that period a strong spirit of rivalry prevailed among European nations and they were constantly at war with each other.

Various improvements were introduced by the king Revi Vurmah during his reign. The power of the local chiefs was curtailed and special agents appointed to various parts of the country, which was divided into districts called "Pacuthies," with power to collect the revenue, which was roughly estimated before their appointment. After defraying the expenditure on religious and other institutions, the agent was to pay the surplus into the king's Treasury.

All such agents were recognized as king's officers and thus the authority and influence of the Madempimar and petty chiefs were destroyed.

After the death of this sovereign, his successor Unny Kerala Vurmah was unable to enforce the above system generally, and consequently in many parts of the country, especially in the southern Districts of Nanjensaud, anarchy once more prevailed. It was this state of things that Rama Vurmah strove to remedy. Unfortunately, however, he died before he could fully carry into execution his intention to

introduce a better system of Government, but left the kingdom in better hands, namely, in those of the able and the most noble Prince Marthanda Virmah. CHAP.
I

Most of the Travancore kings have ruled the country with wisdom and valour, surmounting all oppositions both from the feudatory chiefs and from foreign invaders, and governing the kingdom satisfactorily.

Though there are no details of the reigns of some sovereigns on record, yet it may be stated without fear of contradiction, that the sovereigns of Travancore have been generally gifted with wisdom and a high sense of duty, and that almost without exception, their mental culture has been of the highest order.

Almost all the sovereigns of Travancore are distinguished, more or less, not only for their princely accomplishments, but also for the production of various Sanscrit works on Philosophy, Metaphysics, History, Religion, Music, the Drama, &c., while their governing abilities were and are seldom equalled by the native kings of India.

These sovereigns kept pace with other nations in the art of good government, and their wisdom and good principles were known and testified to by several European nations, in the earliest days of their intercourse with India.





CHAPTER II.

SREE PADMANABHA DASA VANJI PALA MARTHANDA VURMAH
KULASEKHARA PERUMAL

CHAP.
II.

SUCCEDED his uncle, King Rama Vurmah, in 904 M.E. (1729 A.D.), he being the rightful heir to the musnud. When called upon to assume the reins of Government, His Highness was only twenty-three years old.

Though the Maha Rajah came to power under great many adverse circumstances, such as a highly depressed condition of the finances, a very disorganized state of the kingdom, caused by the long standing refractory conduct of the feudatory chiefs (Madampimar and Ettu Veetil Pillamar) approaching almost to a civil war, as was shown in the previous chapter of this work, yet the young Maha Rajah boldly faced all these difficulties and applied his resources, valour and sagacity with laudable firmness and fortitude in surmounting them.

The Maha Rajah's attention was first directed to the laying of the foundation of a good Government, and for this His Highness at once formed a ministry, consisting partly of the deserving and confidential servants of the late Maha Rajah; and partly of able men selected from among the people. Arumugam Pillay, who was the acting Dalawah when the late sovereign proceeded to Trichinopoly in 901 M.E. (1728 A. D.), was now confirmed in his office. Cumaraswamy Pillay was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and the Dalawah's brother Thana Pillay, assistant to Cumaraswamy Pillay. Rama Iyer, a Brahman whom



MARTHANDA VURMAH. MAHA RAJAH.

His Highness had brought up under his own care and patronage, was appointed palace Rayasom (Under Secretary of State), and several other deserving men were also employed for the performance of the various functions of Government. CHAP.
II.

Thus, the commencement of the Maha Rajah's reign was attended with such success, that the importance of the ancient mother kingdom of "Chera" (Travancore), may be said to have revived with this reign.

The late Rama Vurmah Rajah was compelled in 901 M.E. to proceed to the Pandyan capital (Trichinopoly), and to enter into an agreement with the Pandyan Government, by which he promised to pay an annual tribute of about 3,000 rupees and obtained from the Governor a force of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, for the purpose of overawing the turbulent chiefs and nobles.

The pay of this contingent, as well as the annual tribute, was in arrears for a few months, when the Maha Rajah ascended the throne, and on the demand of the troops for their pay and the tribute, His Highness referred them to his Dalawah, Arumugam Pillay, who, on delaying payment, was seized and removed to Thrikanamkudy by the force, whereupon he borrowed money from the Kottar merchants and others, and adjusted most part of the pressing demands. The Dalawah was however still detained by the force at Thrikanamkudy.

In the meanwhile His Highness commissioned Cumaraswamy Pillay, the Commander-in-Chief, and Thanu Pillay his assistant to raise an army of Maravers and a few hundred horse, to raise up barriers in the shape of mud walls between Kadakaray and Mantharamputhur Aramboly, and Cape Comorin; to construct special gates for passages, and to guard them by companies of Maravers and troopers. These arrangements were effectually carried out in the course of a few months, and Travancore was secured against the attacks of foreign invaders.

CHAP.
II.

Cumaraswamy Pillay, with a force of Maravers, was then ordered by the Maha Rajah to proceed to Thirikanamuddy for the purpose of releasing the Dalawah, and that brave officer executed the command with promptness and vigour. The Maha Rajah was extremely pleased with him, as he had by this exploit extricated the Dalawah from a painfully embarrassing position, and removed the burden of care and anxiety that weighed upon his head.

The Maha Rajah then thought that he could safely do away with the Trichinopoly force and ordered it to march back to that town. His Highness communicated his resolution to the Pandyan Government, and requested the Governor to release His Highness from the conditions entered into with the former by the late Maha Rajah.

The feudatory chiefs and nobles, after the withdrawal of the Trichinopoly contingent force, began to rebel again, and as they had always been striving to get their independence, they combined and formed a confederacy as before, and were joined by the two sons of the late sovereign, known by the names of Kunju Thambies *alias* Papu Thamby and Ramen Thamby, who held high rank among the nobles, during the life-time of their father and were in affluent circumstances. But they were now reduced to the level of the ordinary nobles of the country and they felt their degradation keenly. The confederates sympathised with them, and considering them proper instruments for overthrowing the royal authority, they persuaded them to claim their father's throne; and one of them (Papu Thamby), being furnished with sufficient means, proceeded to Trichinopoly in 905 M.E. (1780 A.D.), and represented to the Pandyan Governor his imaginary grievances, saying that great injustice was done to him by the kingdom being forcibly usurped by Marthanda Vurmah. He entered into certain terms with that chief to put him in possession of the kingdom. The Governor, annoyed by the refusal of payment of

the Peishkush, and the dismissal of the contingent forces by Marthanda Vurmah Maha Rajah, readily listened to Papu Thamby's false representations. CHAP.
II.

The Governor ordered one of his agents Alagappa Moodelliar to proceed with a sufficient number of men and horses to Travancore, and institute enquiries into the claims of Papu Thamby, giving him authority to enforce the same if found valid.

The Moodelliar set out from Trichinopoly, accompanied by Papu Thamby and arrived at Udayagherry, where he commenced to institute the enquiry into the claims of the Thamby. The Maha Rajah, on learning this, deputed the State Secretary Rama Iyen and his assistant Narayana Iyen to the Moodelliar, and they were furnished with valid documents to prove the absurdity and fictitious character of Papu Thamby's claims.

While Papu Thamby was utterly unable to produce any documentary evidence in support of his pretended rights, Rama Iyen fully proved the claims of the Maha Rajah to his uncle's throne. The Moodelliar was very indignant with Papu Thamby, and his false complaint was at once rejected. He was told that he should be loyal and obedient to his king in accordance with the customs of the country.

The Maha Rajah informed the Moodelliar of the renewed outbreak of a rebellious spirit among his chiefs and asked him to place one-half of his force at His Highness' disposal. The Moodelliar complied with this request and returned to Trichinopoly loaded with presents.

Though the Maha Rajah was enraged with the conduct of the Kunju Thambies and the chiefs and nobles, yet His Highness pretended to be indifferent about the matter. As His Highness had the strong support of the Trichinopoly force, besides his own Maraver troops, he directed his attention to certain important affairs of Government in which he was engaged before the peace of his kingdom was menaced by the plots of his

CHAP.
II.

enemies. The Thambies and the Ettu Veetil Pillamar were all quiet and matters continued so for some time.

While Elia Rajah (heir apparent), His Highness had in view the repairing and re-constructing of the pagoda at Trevandrum which had become old and dilapidated. In the very year of His Highness' accession, the pagoda work was commenced, and though its progress was impeded by the mischievous proceedings of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar, yet with active and energetic supervision, the whole work was completed by the next year, 906 M.E. (1731 A.D.)

Twelve thousand salagramams, (sacred stones representing the incarnations of Vishnu, obtained from the bed of the river Gunduck, north of Benares) were procured, and with these the idol of Sree Padmanabha Swamy was re-consecrated. At the same time, a huge piece of granite slab cut out of a rock at Thirumalay, about four miles north of Trevandrum, measuring 20 feet square and 2½ feet thick, was brought and placed in front of the idol in the month of Edavom 906 M.E. (June 1731 A.D.), and it was called Ottakel Mundapam.

In addition to the irregular army of Maravers and Nairs already organized, regiments of infantry with fire-arms were formed and maintained, fortifications were constructed at all the important frontiers and garrisoned by detachments. His Highness himself moved from place to place accompanied by the Dalawah, and His Highness' confidential and intelligent Secretary, Rama Iyen. Thus, in the course of a couple of years, the country enjoyed the benefits of perfect peace and tranquillity, and the Maha Rajah was able to recover most of the longstanding arrears from his chiefs and nobles, who were all now overawed by the sight of the new army and of the Trichinopoly cavalry.

After paying off the pressing demands of the State debts, the Maha Rajah was enabled to keep a surplus in the Treasury.

With the view of making a good use of the money ^{over} in the Treasury, His Highness set to work for the improvement of Nanjensud, the most fertile part of the country, by undertaking certain gigantic irrigation works which are still to be seen as the monuments of His Highness' wisdom, the efficient government of that period, and the anxiety and desire of the Maha Rajah for the welfare of his subjects.

Foremost among these works were the Poymanay and Puthenu anicuts, which latter, while it irrigated several miles of lands in Kulculam, also supplied drinking-water for the inhabitants of Padmanabhapuram and the people around it.

These works are certainly gigantic, and are the result of no ordinary courage, enterprise, and engineering skill. Indeed, these works were very expensive, laborious and useful; for the surplus water running from the western range of the ghauts where there is an anicut called Pandyan anay, constructed in time immemorial for the irrigation of lands in Nanjensud, became a river known by the name of Kulithurayar, and the water of that river ran waste into the sea; and the wise Maha Rajah, recognising the practicability of utilising this for irrigation purposes, commenced to build the granite stone anicut across the river. This anicut is called the Poymanay Puthen anay. The structure of this work will vie with any of a similar kind constructed on scientific principles and under professional supervision. Connected with this canal, tanks and reservoirs were also excavated, and feeding channels opened from the main one to fill those tanks with water for irrigating the lands. Thus, the lands which were dependent entirely upon rain for cultivation, and which yielded only one crop in a year, now became rich; an unfailing supply of river water was secured and the lands began to yield two crops annually. Public roads were opened, markets and thoroughfares and various other useful institutions established, and revenue measures introduced.

CHAP.
II.

As the Maha Rajah's military force was now considered equal to the requirements of the country, the Trichinopoly troops were sent back.

On the return of the Trichinopoly force, and the detaching of the Maha Rajah's troops to different stations, to watch the frontiers, to preserve peace in the several districts, and to assist the Revenue Officials in the collection of revenue and the execution of the maramuth works, &c. &c., the restless and turbulent Kunju Thambyes, and the chiefs and nobles renewed their schemes and plots against the Maha Rajah's life, for which purpose they assembled at different places and consulted upon the measures to be taken for accomplishing their object.

Their leader was Papu Thamby, and through him, all the chiefs and nobles between Padmanabhapuram and Attingal were invited to join in the confederacy. The Maha Rajah received private intelligence about their foul designs upon His Highness' life, and employed spies to move about in disguise, and to procure information regarding their treacherous proceedings.

On a certain night, two men of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar, named Kalacoottathu Pillay and Kodamun Pillay, convened a meeting of the confederacy in a building at Venganoor, some distance from the town of Trevandrum, and held a consultation as to the best plan to be adopted for effecting the assassination of the Maha Rajah; the assembly agreed "that on the day of the Aurratt procession, in the month of Thulam, the Maha Rajah would have to walk on foot, preceding the carrying of the idols at some distance; that every one of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar, viz., 1st, Ramanamadathil Pillay; 2nd, Mathanamadathil Pillay (leaders); 3rd, Kolathoo Pillay; 4th, Kalacoottathu Pillay; 5th, Chempalathil Pillay; 6th, Pallichel Pillay; 7th, Kudamun Pillay, and 8th, Venganoor Pillay; as also Moothadathu Pandaram, Elumpale Pandaram, Elumpilli Pandaram, and Edatharay Potty, (four Brahman

chiefs connected with the Yogakar) should attend the Aurratt procession, accompanied by their men (militia), armed with swords, lances, daggers, &c., under the pretext of attending the Aurratt procession; that when near the sea beach and when the idols are housed as customary for the pooja, and when the Maha Rajah retired to the shed after sunset, a party of men should suddenly attack and assassinate him there, and all the nobles should stand by as spectators and pretend to know nothing about the matter; and that should the royalists attempt either to rescue the king, or to retaliate on the assassins, the whole confederacy should fall in and execute a wholesale murder." This resolution was committed to writing on ola (cadjan or palmyra leaf on which all documents were made in Malabar during that time), and several copies were drawn up for the information of the absent chiefs. In order to ensure secrecy, these were put inside the soles of the messengers' slippers and were so despatched to various places.

CHAP.
II.

An old Pandaram who was living in that building, which was a public inn, overheard the consultation and witnessed all these treacherous transactions. This man was one of the Maha Rajah's spies, and the chiefs blindly ignorant of the fact, took no heed of his presence there, as the old man was in the employ of Venganoor Pillay.

Soon after the breaking up of the meeting, the old Pandaram revealed the matter to one of the Maha Rajah's confidential servants who was also moving about under a similar commission. His Highness received this extraordinary information before day-break: persons were immediately despatched in pursuit of the men who carried the written resolution of the aforesaid meeting, and fortunately two of them were apprehended, and the documents discovered in the soles of their slippers. These men were quietly taken to the Maha Rajah, without the knowledge of any one. Every particular connected with the conspiracy

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II the contents of the two olas detected on their persons.

The Maha Rajah was very much excited at this singular occurrence, but did not think it proper to take any active action at the moment. The two men were kept in private confinement, within the walls of the palace, and the two olas were secured in the Maha Rajah's own desk; and thus the matter was hushed up for the time.

The Maha Rajah was a well-trained warrior, tall, possessing a powerful frame and long arms: he learnt from his boyhood gymnastic exercises in all their branches, and was a perfect master in the use of the sword, lance and dagger, besides being a precise marksman. His Highness was equal to any single man in combat, and he was able to command a whole army in the field: Possessing an indomitable and fearless disposition he was not alarmed at the conspiracy which he was determined to trace to its origin, and then extirpate the race of the conspirators.

Secret arrangements were now made through His Highness' confidential Secretary, Rama Iyen, to detach parties of trustworthy sepoy and troopers, to watch the movements of the nobles and chiefs, and to secure a strong force composed of infantry and cavalry to accompany the Aurratt procession.

The Utsavam festival commenced in the month of Alpasy, when the military began to concentrate in the capital. On the Aurratt day, an unusual force escorted the idols, both in front and rear, while the Maha Rajah fearlessly walked in front of the idols, with a glittering broad sword in hand and a favourite Persian dagger in his girdle.

On seeing such preparations and precautions adopted during the procession, the chiefs and nobles were cowed and none had the boldness to strike the pre-meditated blow.

Soon after the Aurratt festival, the Maha Rajah

made all the necessary arrangements for the protection of the capital, and for defending himself against the nobles and chiefs. Detachments of his force were privately posted and subsequently strengthened on the Aurratt day. CHAP.
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In 908 M.E. (1788 A.D.), the Maha Rajah proceeded from Trevandrum to Nagercoil. While there, His Highness resolved to extirpate his old enemies and to punish their leaders, the Kunju Thambies. Secret instructions were conveyed through the State Secretary, Rama Iyen, to the military officers to seize, on a signal being given, all the nobles and chiefs simultaneously, and to post horses between Nagercoil and Trevandrum for conveying the signal.

One morning, while the Maha Rajah was sitting upstairs in the palace at Nagercoil on a swinging cot, Papu Thamby came to see His Highness. When he observed the Thamby coming, His Highness' attendants were instructed to stop him at the door leading to the staircase; to resist him should he insist on going up and to cut him down if he drew his sword. The attendants prepared themselves and guarded the staircase with drawn swords. Papu Thamby came in and walked to the staircase; being the son of the late Maha Rajah, he had the privilege of going to the royal presence without special permission, but the attendants stopped him and told him that they would not let him go without special orders. The Thamby being irritated and affronted, a quarrel ensued, which resulted in a bloody conflict. Papu Thamby drew his sword, and as he was aiming a blow at one of the attendants, he received several cuts on his neck and hands from behind, which brought him to the ground. His brother Ramen Thamby witnessed the tragedy, but without waiting to remonstrate, or confront the attendants, or notice his fallen brother's condition, he rushed upstairs with his sword and approached the Maha Rajah who was still seated on the swinging cot, pretending to know nothing of what was going on down-

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stairs. Ramen Thamby aimed a deadly blow at His Highness with his drawn sword, but providentially the point of the sword struck against the low beam of the roof and missed its aim. The Maha Rajah instantly and dexterously sprang upon the Thamby, seized the sword before he could raise his hand for a second thrust, threw him down, and having seated himself on his breast, took his favourite dagger which always hung at his girdle and plunged it to the hilt into the traitor's heart. During this scuffle, the Maha Rajah's body and clothes were besmeared with blood : rising up, he opened the window, showed himself to his officers and men and gave them the pre-arranged signal, telling them, at the same time, that now that the leaders of the confederacy had been punished, the remaining work should be executed with all possible expedition.

Some of the followers of the Thambies who flocked to the spot on hearing that their masters were in trouble were cut down, and others escaped.

Before daybreak, every one of the Madempimar and Ettu Veetil Pillamar, together with the three Pandarams and the Potty alluded to above were apprehended, and the next day they were arraigned before the Maha Rajah, who was then at Kulculam.

The Maha Rajah presided at their trial, the two "olas" were produced, and both the men on whose persons they were found and who were in confinement at Trevandrum, were called as witnesses.

Each of the nobles and chiefs so arraigned was called upon to answer the charge of treason on which he was indicted. The two witnesses were confronted with the prisoners and the olas read to them. Forty-two of the nobles and chiefs and their confederates were tried, pleaded guilty and were sentenced to death. They were all hanged at a place known by the name of Mukhamandapam, a few miles north-west of Kulculam. The four Brahmans and a few others of the same caste were also tried and found guilty, but the punish-



ETTU VEETIL PILLAY.

ment of death in the case of Brahmans not being allowed by the laws of Manu, by which the Hindus are governed, the Maha Rajah sentenced them to be banished the country, after making them out-castes by branding their foreheads with the figure of a dog. CHAP.
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Though the total destruction of these inveterate enemies of the royal house was seriously resolved upon by the Maha Rajah, still His Highness would not tolerate the massacring of women and children; orders were therefore given to seize the families of the traitors, and make them over to the fishermen who lived on the sea-beach, so that they might become out-castes and the race of Madempimars and the rebellious Ettu Veetil Pillamars might not be revived in this age. All their houses and landed property were confiscated and taken possession of by the Sircar, the former were broken up and the materials used for erecting certain buildings attached to the Trevandrum pagoda, and the latter was annexed to the Sircar lands. Thus ended a race of chiefs who had been guilty of rebellion against the royal house for many hundreds of years, and at whose hands the royal family had suffered injuries and wrongs of the most inhuman and atrocious character.

Perfect order and peace now prevailed in the country between Aramboly and Edavaye, and the Maha Rajah began to entertain ideas of extending his dominions towards the North, His Highness being then in possession of only isolated localities in the North, such as Kullada, Mavalikaray, &c.

The royal family of Quilon, designated Dasinganaud or Jayathungnaud (which Visscher calls signate in his letters) and of Kottarakaray (Elayada Swaroopam) were collaterally related to the Travancore royal house, or rather, they were branches of the Travancore house, as has been already said.

In 906 M.E. (1731 A.D), the Rajah of Dasinganaud (Quilon) formed an alliance with the principality of Kayemkulam, by adopting some members of the ruling

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II family of the latter. This adoption was in direct opposition to the Maha Rajah's wishes and it consequently offended His Highness..

His Highness led a powerful army towards Quilon, under his command, and after several battles at the Quilon frontier, the Maha Rajah's force being victorious, His Highness advanced to the capital of Dasinganaud, and the Rajah of the place, finding resistance impossible, sued for peace. The Maha Rajah acceded to the proposal, but compelled the Quilon Rajah to cancel the adoption, and break off the alliance with the Kayemkulam principality. Moreover as the Quilon Rajah was related to Travancore, His Highness decided that Dasinganaud should be annexed to Travancore, on the death of the only remaining Rajah of that family.

All the conditions proposed by the Maha Rajah were agreed to by the Quilon Rajah; his army was withdrawn, and it afterwards joined the Travancore force. All the fortifications were destroyed and a detachment of the Travancore army was stationed there under the command of Arumugum Pillay. The Maha Rajah then returned to Trevandrum bringing the Quilon Rajah with him.

The Quilon Rajah was accommodated in one of the palaces called Valia Koikel, with liberal provisions and supplies and every comfort of life, and he lived there in a more luxurious style than the Maha Rajah himself.

The Kayemkulam Rajah (a relative of Travancore) was alarmed at the success of the Maha Rajah, and began to concert measures to prevent further territorial acquisitions by Travancore. A consultation was held by all the northern principalities, presided over by the Cochin Rajah, and they resolved upon assisting the Quilon Rajah restoring his principality, and re-establishing Dasinganaud. To effect this, spies were sent to Trevandrum under disguise, and the Quilon Rajah was called away to Kayemkulam; and

thence he was sent under a strong force to Quilon. The Dalawah resisted, but his detachment was no match to the combined army of Kayemkulam and Quilon, and therefore, after a severe battle, the Dalawah was obliged to retreat. Reinforcements were soon sent from Trevandrum and the Maha Rajah himself proceeded to re-conquer Quilon, but the fortifications raised and the defensive measures adopted there, with the assistance of the Cochin Rajah, supplemented by European fire-arms procured from the Dutch Governor of Cochin, made success on the part of the Travancore army doubtful. Great loss of life was suffered on both sides, and the Maha Rajah considering it inexpedient to venture further and sacrifice more men, wisely retreated to Trevandrum.

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The Quilon Rajah now became powerful, and emboldened by the retreat of Travancore from the field, assumed the offensive. Together with the Kayemkulam Rajah, he attacked some of the territories belonging to the Travancore sovereign situated at Kulladay and Mavalikaray.

The Maha Rajah enraged at the conduct of the Quilon Rajah and irritated by his late defeat, took measures to teach the Quilon Rajah and his ally, the Kayemkulam chief, a wholesome lesson. The Travancore army was strengthened with additions of cavalry and infantry, new fire-arms were procured through the English merchants then trading at Anjengo and Edavaye, and in 909 M.E. (1784 A.D.), a powerful army was despatched against those principalities, under the chief command of Thanu Pillay and Sthanapathy Cumaraswamy Pillay, aided by the able Secretary, Rames Iyen.

Quilon and Kayemkulam were invaded simultaneously and a severe conflict commenced. The Kayemkulam Rajah applied for assistance to the Dutch, but the Governor of Cochin refused his aid on the plea that this war was brought on by the aggressive

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conduct of the Kayemkulam towards Travancore. He was however still supported by the Cochin Rajah, but after several battles no advantage was gained by either side. At last, finding the Kayemkulam army could not hold out much longer, the Rajah of that State, a very bold and powerful personage, took the chief command of his army and pushed it forward against the Travancoreans and a severe and sanguinary battle ensued. It lasted for many hours and during the heat of the fight, one of the Travancore mounted sepoy's fired at the Kayemkulam Rajah and brought him down to the ground. The death of the Rajah was not known at the moment and so the battle continued for some time longer, but when the loss of their sovereign became known, all the other commanders were disheartened and gradually retired from the field.

Notwithstanding the death of the Rajah, the spirit of the Kayemkulam army was not thoroughly broken, for the fallen Rajah's younger brother succeeded and he being more obstinate and courageous than his late brother, the war was continued with redoubled vigour. The Maha Rajah repaired to Quilon, accompanied by the heir apparent, who infused fresh courage into the Travancore army. A special body of recruits was raised for the war with Kayemkulam. Secretary Rama Iyen, finding that the army in the field could not successfully withstand the Kayemkulam force without sufficient reinforcement, proceeded to Tinnevely, brought a regiment of Maravars under the command of Ponnampandya Deven, procured a thousand mounted sepoy's from some of the Palayapattinam (Poligars), and marched the reinforcement by the hill roads through Kottarakaray. After holding a consultation among the officers, including the Dalawah and the Sthanapathy, Rama Iyen assumed the chief command of the army. In the battle, the next day he distinguished himself with signal success, and the Kayemkulam force met with a defeat for the first time. But the war continued, and Rama Iyen's

army began to gain ground slowly and to advance into the Kayemkulam territories day by day. CHAP.
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The Kayemkulam Rajah finding it impossible to hold out any longer against the Travancore army, applied again to the Cochin Rajah to procure him the aid of the Dutch Governor, but seeing that no aid could be expected from either party and knowing that the Dutch Governor had declined to interfere, the Kayemkulam Rajah sued for peace. With the permission of the Maha Rajah hostilities were suspended and the war came to a close.

In 909 M.E. (1784 A.D.), the Maha Rajah annexed Hlayada Swaroopam, embracing Shencottah, Olangand, Kerkudi, Valliyoar, on the Tinnevely side, and Kottarakaray, Pathanapuram, &c., on the northern limits of Travancore. The Rajah Veera Kerala Vurmah, who was in charge of those territories was a relative of Travancore and died leaving as his successor a princess. The administration of the State was conducted by a Survadhihariakar, a very unscrupulous person, and anarchy began to prevail in the province. The Maha Rajah called the minister to Trevandrum and pointed out to him various instances of mal-administration and banished him from the country in disgrace. A proper and fit man was appointed to the responsible post of Survadhihariakar to the State, and the Maha Rajah took the government of the principality into his own hands, advising the Ranee to come and reside at Trevandrum, or to remain at Kottarakaray in her own palace as she pleased. The Ranee preferred the latter course.

In the meanwhile 909 M.E. (1784 A.D.), the Rajah of Quilon died and his country was taken possession of by the Kayemkulam Rajah, on the plea that he had established a claim upon that State by adoption. But the Maha Rajah remonstrated with the Kayemkulam chief on this unlawful conduct, on the ground not only that the family of Dasinganaud Rajah was collaterally related to Travancore but that in 906

CHAP. II. M.E. (1731 A.D.), the adoption in question was cancelled by the deceased Quilon Rajah.

The Kayemkulam chief being now well supported by his friend the Cochin Rajah, and having through him secured the aid of the Dutch at Cochin, paid no regard whatever to the remonstrances of the Maha Rajah and the result was the declaration of a second war.

The Dutch East India Company's Government, which had hitherto always observed a neutral policy in regard to the quarrels between Travancore and Kayemkulam, began to assume a kind of dictatorship in dealing with all these principalities, with the express view of establishing a check against the progress and extension of the Travancore kingdom, which the Dutch saw fast rising in power.

The Dutch Governor, M. A. Maten, sent a messenger to the Maha Rajah, desiring him not to go to war with the Kayemkulam chief; the Governor considered that even the annexation of the principality of Elayada Swaroopam was an unjust act on the part of the Maha Rajah, and that the Ranee should be allowed to rule that State. The Maha Rajah received the message with great courtesy, though his feelings were hurt. He sent a reply to the Governor by the same messenger to the effect that His Excellency need not trouble himself with questions which do not concern the commercial speculations and interests of the Dutch East India Company, and that while the Maha Rajah was friendly and paid all possible attention to the promotion of commercial prosperity of the Company, he greatly regretted to find the Governor attempting to interfere with the internal affairs of Travancore.

Little expecting an answer of this description the Dutch Governor, M. A. Maten, was highly displeased, and he professed to feel that an insult had been thereby offered to the Dutch Company.



RAMA IYER BALAWA.

About this time, Arumugam Pillay Dalawah died, and his brother, Thana Pillay, was appointed Dalawah, but he did not hold the appointment long, for he died in 912 M.E. (1737 A.D.), and the very able and meritorious Rama Iyen, who had been, soon after the Kayemkulam victory, raised to the post of Deputy Prime Minister, was appointed Dalawah. He began a brilliant career in his joint office of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

Great preparations to attack Kayemkulam were now set on foot; a large force was collected at Trevandrum, and arms and ammunition procured in abundance through the English merchants trading at Anjengo. The English were friendly to Travancore for a long time, and now offered to assist the Rajah with a number of their men in the campaign against Kayemkulam, but the Maha Rajah, wishing to obtain the victory single-handed, of which he was almost sure, politely and thankfully declined the offer. For a similar reason, the Maha Rajah refrained from obtaining assistance from the Pandyan kingdom.

Along with the preparations for war, Rama Iyen Dalawah was engaged in making several improvements in Trevandrum. Palaces, chuttrums, store-houses, &c., were constructed, rules were introduced curtailing the independent power of the Yogakar in the great pagoda at Trevandrum, and reserving supreme power to the sovereign over that Devaswam. The old reservoir called Padmatheerthum was drained and enlarged; flights of granite steps on the four sides of the tank down to its bottom, in the shape of ladders, for the convenience of people going down and coming up from the tank were also erected.

In 914 M.E. (1739 A.D.), when the Travancore force marched against Kayemkulam, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, M. VanImhoff, came to Cochin and learnt the above facts and also that Travancore had risen to a high position from its success in the late war with Kayemkulam, and from the annexation of the terri-

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teries of such neighbouring States as Elayadathu-
nand, Quilon, &c. He believed that the Travancore
Maha Rajah was acting under the hostile counsels
of the English, and that for the commercial interests
of the Dutch, a proper balance of power among the
native princes should be maintained and Travancore
prevented from rising higher. In order to carry out this
policy he thought that measures ought to be taken at
once to check the progress and curtail the power of
the Travancore Maha Rajah, and he confidently ex-
pected the full approbation and concurrence of the
Rajahs of Cochin, Kayemkulam, and all the other
northern petty chiefs.

M. VanImhoff deputed two persons from Cochin to
the Maha Rajah with a message similar to the one
sent by the Cochin Governor, M. A. Maten, but the
answer of the Maha Rajah was just the same as
before. M. VanImhoff was incensed at the obstinate
resolution of His Highness and he wanted to take
action at once against Travancore, but having no suf-
ficient force at hand, to command respect and enforce
authority, he considered it prudent to try conciliatory
measures once more. Espousing the cause of the
Ranee of Elayada Swaroopam, M. VanImhoff sent a
protest in 915 M.E. (1740 A.D.) to the Maha Rajah,
against the retention of that territory, but finding
that the protest had no effect, he requested an inter-
view with the Maha Rajah, and after a good deal of
discussion on the subject, he failed in his mission and
satisfied himself as to the difficulty of bringing about
an amicable settlement of affairs. M. VanImhoff irri-
tated and indignant, threatened His Highness with an
invasion of Travancore. The Maha Rajah calmly
replied that he was perfectly at liberty to do so, and
reminded him of the unlikelihood of such an undertak-
ing being crowned with success, and added that even
if it should succeed, there were forests throughout
Travancore into which the Maha Rajah could retire
in safety. M. VanImhoff scornfully said that the
Dutch could follow His Highness wherever he went.

The Maha Rajah closed the interview with the ironical retort that if M. VanImhoff could carry into execution his threats, His Highness would also think of invading Europe with his Munchees (native boats) and fishermen!

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There being no prospects of an amicable settlement, M. VanImhoff had no alternative left but to proceed against Travancore. He wrote to Ceylon for a detachment of infantry and artillery and prepared his force at Quilon for immediate action.

In 916 M.E. (1741 A.D.), the Ranee of Elayada Swaroopam was installed sovereign of that State by the Dutch Governor, who obtained tracts of land and other advantages from her.

When the proceedings of the Dutch came to the knowledge of the Maha Rajah, His Highness directed the Travancore forces to take the field against them. The small Dutch detachment, with the large allied forces which supported the Ranee in her possession, were attacked by the Travancore army with complete success. Many Dutch soldiers were killed; the allied forces fled at the approach of the Travancoreans; and the Ranee herself escaped and reached Cochin, placing herself under the protection of M. VanImhoff. After taking possession of the territories of Elayada Swaroopam, the Travancore force turned against the Dutch possessions, captured Dutch out-posts in Travancore, attacked the factories, and took possession of the goods stored therein. After this signal defeat, the Dutch retired to Cochin, and the Travancore force besieged Kayemkulam, where a severe contest ensued.

While matters were thus in the north, the reinforcement which the Dutch Governor called from Ceylon, effected a landing at Colachel, and commenced to attack the villages and the small Travancore garrisons posted there. They committed many depredations and atrocities; plundered all the valuables in the bazaars and houses of rich people, fortified a place near the

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H. the Dutch force in it. The rest proceeded and attacked the Travancore out-posts on the coast, such as Tengapattam, Midaulam, Kadiapattam, &c., &c., and advanced to the opulent city of Eraneel.

On receiving this unexpected intelligence, the Maha Rajah, who was then at Trevandrum, hastened to the south with all the force at his command, and directed Rama Iyen Dalawah, who was then engaged in the north, to march with a sufficient force and join His Highness at Padmanabhapuram.

On the Maha Rajah's reaching Kuloulam, he adopted measures to arrest the progress of the Dutch who being, at the time, in possession of almost all the villages between Colachel and Kottar, and contemplated an attack on His Highness' palace at Padmanabhapuram, but this was frustrated by the Maha Rajah's timely arrival at Kuloulam, where he raised a levy of Nairs, and reinforced the regular infantry already in service in that part of the country. The Maha Rajah strongly remonstrated with the Governor of Cochin and even wrote to the Government in Batavia a letter of remonstrance and complaint.

An embassy was with as little possible delay sent to Pondicherry to treat with the French Governor, to render military aid to His Highness against the Dutch. A treaty was concluded, by which the French bound themselves to assist the Maha Rajah against the Dutch and his other enemies, and the Maha Rajah, engaged to grant them certain lands at Colachel and other parts of the coast, for building factories; and allow them to carry on commerce with Travancore.

Rama Iyen Dalawah reached Kuloulam from the north, with a large reinforcement, consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery, and the Maha Rajah, in consultation with the Dalawah planned an attack upon the Dutch invaders. A number of Munchees (native boats), properly manned, with a mixed force of trained sepoy and militia, and a full complement of

season as rewers, organized for the purpose of watching the movements of the Dutch ship which landed the detachment, was kept in readiness at sea. Rama Iyen marched his troops and stationed them between Nagercoil and Eraneel: each army was commanded by tried officers, and the Dalawah, as the chief in command, placed himself in the centre. All these arrangements were completed in the course of a few months, and in the month of Chithiray, fighting commenced and lasted full two months.

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It appears from the Thiruvattar Devaswam accounts, that the Maha Rajah who was then at Eraneel, a place near the seat of war, proceeded on the 29th Vykaai (10th June) to Thiruvattar, the shrine of the Travancore family-deity, and after worshipping and invoking the god to aid him against the Dutch, placed his sword before the idol of the pagoda, and performing poojas, received back the sword from the officiating priest. He then returned to the seat of war, after making a donation of 500 fanams to the pagoda.

The Maha Rajah appear to have conducted the war in person.

On the morning of the 27th Andy (10th August) the battle of Colachel was commenced by the Travancore line. The Munches surrounded the Dutch ship, anchored in the Colachel roads, and watched the landing of men and arms to assist the Dutch detachment then engaged in the battle. Rama Iyen Dalawah's army charged the Dutch line which was drawn up in fighting order against the Travancoreans. The Dutch line was broken through, the officers and men were driven from their positions and the whole force thrown into confusion and disorder. The Dutch having no cavalry, of which the Maha Rajah's force formed the largest portion, were placed in the greatest peril and after suffering much, they effected a precipitate retreat to the fort, leaving behind them several of their comrades dead, wounded, and prisoners. Of the last, there were 24, consisting of both officers and privates,

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who were sent to Udayagherry and taken great care of. The names of only nine of these prisoners are found in the Malayalam account of this war.

On the 31st Aug., the siege of the Colachel fort took place. In the course of a few hours, the fort was taken and the enemy driven to their ships which sailed to Cochin. In this siege, 389 muskets, with a few pieces of cannon, and a number of swords were taken by the Travancoreans from the Dutch.

Before the ratification of the French treaty, the battle of Colachel was fought and won, and the assistance of the French not being needed, the stipulations of the treaty were not carried into effect.

Of the Dutch prisoners, two men who attracted the Dalawah's notice, were taken before the Maha Rajah, who pitied their condition, but was unable to communicate with them, as there was nobody present who understood their language. His Highness being a good physiognomist, was struck with the appearance of one of them, who, His Highness thought, was brave and bold, and destined probably, to become a man of note. His Highness ordered Rama Iyen to take great care of them and treat them as gentlemen. The Maha Rajah made it a point to see them occasionally, and succeeded at last, in getting a man who understood their language.

The Dutch prisoners were so overcome with the kind treatment they received at the hands of the Maha Rajah, that they resolved to serve him in any capacity, and were enlisted in the Maha Rajah's army. Most of them distinguished themselves in His Highness' service as Captains, Majors, &c., &c., and some of their descendants are still to be found in Travancore.

The two men whom the Maha Rajah took special notice of were Eustatious D'Laney and Donadi, both of Flemish origin. Of these two, the one on whom His Highness fixed his particular regard was M. Eustatious D'Laney, and he was selected to discipline a few companies of sepoys, whom His Highness



• GENERAL D'LANOY'S MILITARY SEPOYS.

looked upon as the flower of his army, for his body-guard. D'Lanoy trained the sepoy's so satisfactorily in a few months, that His Highness, delighted with his ability and military knowledge, appointed him Captain of His Highness' body-guard battalion, and subsequently he was vested with the power of controlling the garrison stationed at Padmanabhapuram. D'Lanoy's companion held the appointment of a Captain in the army. Captain D'Lanoy was engaged in getting an efficient magazine organized and ammunition arranged, and the Maha Rajah seeing his extraordinary skill and superior knowledge, authorized him to superintend the construction of a strong fort round the hill at Udayagherry. Here Captain D'Lanoy resided, and here he closed his earthly career.

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Captain D'Lanoy was also entrusted with the onerous task of organizing and disciplining the Travancore army on European principles, and inspecting every garrison and out-post. He executed his task most creditably to himself and beneficially to the Maha Rajah's force.

About this time, a strong party of marauders, headed by Chunda Sahib and Bada Sahib, relatives of Dost Ali Khan, the Nabob of Arcot, who were permitted to wander about for the purpose of securing a principality for the Nabob's son, and also on plunder for themselves in the dominions of the native Princes, entered the territories of Travancore by the Aramboly gate. They took possession of Nagercoil, Sucheendrum, and the rich town of Kottar: they plundered the shrine at Sucheendrum; burnt the great car, mutilated many of the images of the pagoda; and perpetrated many other deeds of atrocity and devastation, the favourite process generally adopted by the Mussulman chiefs.

Rama Iyen Dalawah was ordered to march an army and drive the marauders out of Travancore, but on meeting them he found them powerful in horse, and his own force no match for the Mussulmans.

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However, the Dalawah challenged them and commenced a battle, but his exertions were not attended with his usual success. But the Dalawah had reason to know that the object of the party was principally to secure pecuniary gain, and consequently, they were made to retreat without offering resistance to his army. After making arrangements for further strengthening the Aramboly garrison, Rama Iyen returned to Trevandrum, and thence he was ordered to march to Quilon, accompanied by Captain D'Lanoy, who was appointed his chief assistant in command of the field force then engaged against Kayemkulam.

Many battles were fought without either side obtaining the victory, and the war continued for an unusually long time, the Dutch rendering every support and assistance to the Kayemkulam chief and also attacking certain parts of the Travancore country. The only actual defeat that the Travancore army met with was towards the end of 916 M.E. (1742 A.D.), when 6,000 men of the Travancore troops attacked the Dutch port at Quilon, which was defended by a number of Nairs under the leadership of one Autchutha Warriar, a Kariakar of the Kayemkulam Rajah, who commanded the fort garrison and fought with such desperate courage that the Travancore troops were obliged to retreat. But still the war continued.

In the early part of the year 917 M.E. (1743 A.D.), the combined forces of the Kayemkulam Rajah and the Dutch began to assume the offensive. They marched to Kilimanoor (within the limits of Travancore), and attacked and captured the fort. The Maha Rajah, who was at Sucheendram, started immediately to Attingal, near the seat of war, and adopted measures, not only to arrest the progress of the combined army, but also to give them a sanguinary battle there. His Highness raised an army of about 5,000 Nairs, and a corps of Sappers and Miners; procured arms and ammunition from the English at Anjengo and the French at Mahe; collected all the best guns

from his forts at Udayagherry, Kulculam, Trevandrum, &c., &c.; and after forming a junction with the main army, under Rama Iyen Dalawah, he divided the army into three divisions. The Maha Rajah assumed the chief command, the prince (heir apparent), Rama Iyen Dalawah, and Captain D'Lanoy were appointed to the command of each division, and they were posted at different stations.

After making these arrangements, the siege of Kili-manoor fort was commenced. The enemy held out most desperately for sixty-eight days, when the Maha Rajah succeeded in overpowering the enemy and recapturing the fort. After this defeat, the remnant of the Dutch and Kayemkulam forces retreated with great loss to Quilon.

The Travancore army now advanced towards Kayemkulam, and though opposed for some time, proved ultimately victorious, and the Kayemkulam Rajah sued for peace. In the latter part of the year 917 M.E. (1742 A.D.), the Kayemkulam Rajah concluded a treaty with the Travancore Maha Rajah ceding the greater portion of his country to Travancore and binding himself to be a tributary and ally, paying annually a tribute of one elephant and 1,000 rupees, and solemnly pledging his word that every State inimical to Travancore shall be regarded as his own enemy.

The Maha Rajah did not stop here. Finding that the Rajahs of Cottayam and Vadakankoor had rendered assistance to Kayemkulam and to the Dutch, His Highness directed the army under the command of the prince to attack those two principalities. Here the prince distinguished himself. The war against these two Rajahs was carried on and several battles fought, in the course of which the Cottayam fort was captured and the Rajah taken prisoner. In consequence of the fall of Cottayam, the Vadakankoor or Yetmanoor Rajah fled to Calicut, leaving his country at the mercy of the prince. Cottayam and Vadakankoor were annexed to Travancore by Rama Iyen Dalawah,

CHAP. and the heir apparent returned with his army to his
II. uncle.

The Quilon Rajah, after the fall of Kayemkulam, disconnected himself from the fallen chief, and with the secret aid of the Dutch, defied the Maha Rajah's authority. The Maha Rajah sent his army against the Quilon Rajah, designated king of Desinganaud, and after several battles at Quilon, that country was also annexed to Travancore.

The chief of Ambalapulay rendered assistance to the Maha Rajah during these wars and his spiritual minister, Thekadathu Bhattathiry, appears to have come to the Maha Rajah at Chowray, at the head of a large number of Nairs and boats.

A diary of the Maha Rajah's movements, in connection with this year's war with Kayemkulam and other principalities, was found among a mass of old and worn out cadjans in a corner of the Padmanabhapuram palace, and the particulars therein recorded correspond with the history of events already given. The perusal of the substance of the same may be interesting to the reader :—

SUBSTANCE OF THE DIARY.

On the 28th Dhanoo 917 M.E. (10th January 1742 A.D.), the Maha Rajah left Suchendram.

On the 1st Makaram (12th January), the Maha Rajah arrived at Trevandrum.

On account of the illness of the prince (heir apparent) the Maha Rajah stayed at Trevandrum 17 days. In the meantime, he was engaged in making preparations for war and organizing an encampment of troops at Attingal.

On the 18th Makaram (29th January), the Maha Rajah left Trevandrum and halted at Kalakootam.

On the 21st Makaram (31st January), His Highness visited Anjengo and after arranging for ammunition and appliances of war returned by boat to Attingal.

On the next day some of His Highness' European military officers arrived at Attingal and were accommodated in the east fort of the town. CHAP.
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The Maha Rajah concentrated his force and made all necessary preparations for the impending war.

The combined army consisted of his own military troops, called Kunchoottakar, his cavalry and 4,000 and odd Nairs newly enrolled for military service from Eraneel, Kulculam, Velavancode, Neyattumkaray, Neduvangaud, Trevandrum and Sheraingheel districts.

There was also a good number of labourers with mummatties (spades) for clearing jungles, and artisans, such as smiths, sawyers, &c., for repairing guns and also making rails in the east fort at Attingal.

Rama Iyen Dalawah arranged for victualling the troops, and appointed Panchangam Appa Perumal, Panchangam Appa Krishnen and Ponnum Pandya Devan as Commissary Generals.

The ammunition and munitions of war were obtained from Kulculam, Trevandrum and Anjengo, and from Mahe, through the French.

The contest commenced on the 23rd Makaram (3rd February) at the fort of Kilimanoor. On that day there were 13 wounded amongst the Travancore troops.

The Travancore army encamped in different localities, some at Attingal, and some at Avanancherry. Besides, there was a division quartered at Vamanapuram and another at Perumathura. There was an encampment at Nagaroor and another at Kadinenkulam.

The prince (heir apparent) commanded the division at Vamanapuram. The enemy attacked this place, but it does not appear that they met with success.

On the 24th Meenam (4th April), the prince proceeded to Kottarakaray and organized encampments at Anchel and Koomil. Ponnum Pandya Devan was at the head of this division.

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The contest at the Kilimanoor fort lasted 68 days. It began on the 23rd Makaram (3rd February) and terminated on the 30th Meenam (10th April).

There were several wounded in the Travancore army, but the number of men killed was only four or five. On the 27th Meenam (7th April) some of the wounded Europeans of the enemy's forces, and on the 28th idem (8th April), 293 Nairs of the Kayemkulam army were taken prisoners. Proper arrangements were made for their maintenance.

On the 30th Meenam (10th April), the Kilimanoor fort was completely taken possession of when the Rajah of Kayemkulam and the Commodore of Cochin were present.

The enemy's ordnance and ammunition, &c., which were in the Kilimanoor fort, consisting of 5 pieces of cannon, 43 muskets, 2 drums, ammunition filled in 28½ barrels and 121 sacks, 142 shells, 20 cannon balls, and some weapons were captured.

On the 3rd Madom (14th April), the Maha Rajah left Attingal for Kottarakary. On the 6th (17th), the young prince (heir apparent) encamped at Yenathimangalam,

On the 8th (19th), the Maha Rajah left Kottarakaray for Kunnathoor. On the 16th (27th), the Maha Raja marched to Kayemkulam and took possession of Kayemkulam fort.

Simultaneously, preparations seem to have been made to conquer the petty States of Vadakankoor and Cottayam.

On the 18th (29th), the Maha Rajah left Kayemkulam for Karthigapilly. On the same day the young prince marched to Vegayapuram. On the 20th Madom (1st May), siege of the Vegayapuram fort commenced.

A large number of labourers and artisans were collected on the spot from Vattapparambu, Karunaga-

pilly, Kottarakaray, Manchoor, Kulladay, and other places to execute the preliminary works for action. CHAP.
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Excepting the portions of the army placed at Attin-gal, Kilimanoor and Kayemkulam, to guard those forts, all other available forces of the Maha Rajah, including men, horse, and Nairs enrolled for military service, were engaged in the conflict at Vijayapuram. The guns of Kayemkulam were taken to Vijayapuram.

On the 28th Madom (8th May), a number of elephants was taken from Ambalapulay to Vijayapuram.

From the 1st Edavem (10th May), Vadakankoor Rajah's name is found in the pension list.

When hostilities were going on with the Cottayam and Vadakankoor Rajahs, the Maha Rajah was in and about Kayemkulam.

Till the 23rd Edavem (4th June), the Maha Rajah was at Karthigapilly, when he moved on to Mavalikararay.

From Mavalikararay, the Maha Rajah proceeded to Pathiyoor and thence again to Kayemkulam.

The Maha Rajah next waged war against Quilon.

On the 25th Edavem (6th June), the Maha Rajah left Kayemkulam for Quilon.

On the 20th Edavem (1st June), the battles of Palakel Peringanaut and east Quilon were fought.

On the 3rd Mithunam (15th June), the battle of Kureepula in west Quilon was fought.

In these successive battles, the Travancore troops consisted, amongst others, of men enrolled from districts south of Kulculam, and also from Ambalapulay, Mavalikararay, Ashtamani, Kuttianikaud, Karthigapilly and Perinaut. Many were wounded.

A body of slaves of the soil was collected from Kulladay, &c., and set to work to raise two earthen mounds, as batteries, one at the landing place at Kureepula and another at the landing place, near the bridge.

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The landing places near the bridge and at Kureepula were the scenes of conflict for several successive days until 19th Karkadagam (2nd August).

During this time, the Maha Rajah was in constant motion, with the view, as might be supposed, of taking diverse measures to ensure success.

On the 22nd Edavem (3rd June), the Maha Rajah marched from Kilialloor to Kureepula.

On the 1st Mithunam (13th June), the Maha Rajah left for Kilialloor.

Thence the Maha Rajah proceeded to Ambalapulay.

On the 10th Mithunam (22nd June), the Maha Rajah visited Iyencovil.

On the 18th and 19th Mithunam (30th June and 1st July), Thekadatha Bhattathiry arrived at Chowray with a number of men and boats.

On the 22nd Mithunam (4th July), the Maha Rajah reached Chowray.

On the 26th Mithunam (8th July), an encampment was formed at Chowray.

On the 31st Mithunam (12th July), Nairs in the service of Palikara and Madathinkoor reinforced the Travancore army.

At Chowray a sanguinary battle took place.

On the 31st Mithunam (12th July), the Maha Rajah paid a flying visit to Trevandrum to worship at the temple for Karkadaga Sewali.

On the 3rd Karkadagam (17th July), the Maha Rajah returned to Kilialloor.

He sent a large quantity of shot and ammunition to the field of battle at the landing place near the bridge.

On the 6th Karkadagam (20th July), the Maha Rajah himself took the field.

On the 11th Karkadagam (25th July), twenty boats arrived there from Attingal.

On the 19th Karkadagam (2nd August), the Maha Rajah visited Vurkalay for Audy Amavasi. CHAP.
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On the 30th Karkadagam (18th August), Quilon fell. The army was paid batta up to this day.

After the fall of Quilon, and the treaty of Mannath with Kayemkulam, the Dutch were disheartened and further hostilities with Travancore being considered unadvisable, they were inclined to make peace. Rama Iyen Dalawah made the Dutch understand, through the Kayemkulam Rajah, that he was prepared to direct his formidable army against the Dutch, but that the Maha Rajah had no objection to come to terms with them, provided the East India Company would submit to the reasonable conditions which Travancore might propose to them. The Dutch were overjoyed at this message, as they had been considerable losers by the unnecessary hostilities in which they took part, and they regretted their imprudent conduct chiefly on account of their commercial interests having suffered greatly during the war.

The Dutch next requested the Rajahs of Cochin and Thakankoor to effect a settlement with Travancore, through their means, and though these chiefs gave their word that they would do so, still they delayed fulfilling their promise, thinking that Travancore had already become powerful and had extended her territories to Poracaud, in the west, and Menachil, in the east, and that should the Maha Rajah enter into a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, whom lately, through their stratagems, they had rendered hostile to Travancore, she would become still more powerful. The Dutch now discovered these Rajahs' secret intentions, and the Cochin council resolved to manage the affair for themselves, without waiting for the assistance of their allies. The Dutch Governor of Cochin then addressed himself directly to the Maha Rajah, proposing an amicable settlement of their misunderstanding.

The Maha Rajah received this communication

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favourably, and informed the Dutch Governor that His Highness had authorized Rama Iyen Dalawah to hold a conference with the Dutch, and that the Dalawah, together with Thalavidi Cunju Moothathu Kariakkar, had been delegated for the purpose. The Dutch East India Company's Council at Cochin despatched Ezekiel Rabbi and Silvester Mendes, the latter a Captain in the Dutch Service, to Mavalikarai. After a protracted conference and discussion, they drafted a treaty, the terms of which though mostly favourable to Travancore, were objected to by the Maha Rajah. Some stringent clauses were proposed, which restrained totally not only the interference of the Dutch Government with Travancore, but also their countenancing and aiding the native princes in Malabar. The Cochin council was about to depute one of their members to Mavalikarai for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, when their Commissioners sent them this revised proposal of the Maha Rajah. While they were hesitating about sending a reply, as they required permission from the Batavian Government, before they could do so, they received information from the Rabbi and the Captain, that His Highness the Maha Rajah would not enter into the proposed treaty at that time and that the consideration of the matters in dispute was postponed.

The Dutch now resumed their hostile attitude against Travancore, though with much reluctance, as they were not then in a position to withstand the Travancore army.

Some time later, the negotiations were re-opened by the Maha Rajah and the parties that had assembled at Paroor, south of Quilon: they discussed again all the questions, but the Dalawah held firm to the original proposal and consequently the conference was broken up, this time by the Dutch. A few days afterwards, the Dutch revived the negotiations a third time and the party met at the same town, simply to break off again. In this manner, the Dutch continued these negotiations without any favourable results.

At this period, the Rajah of Kayemkulam put forth every endeavour to shake off the Travancore yoke, but he was utterly unable to carry out his intentions as he could not expect any aid from the Cochin Rajah, who was now in constant fear of losing his own country by a sudden attack of the Zamorin's troops, and as the Dutch refused their assistance on the ground that they were already negotiating for peace with Travancore. He then applied to the neighbouring principalities of Ambalapulay and Chunganacherry, and they promised their co-operation.

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The Kayemkulam Rajah had not paid the tribute since the ratification of the treaty, evidently considering it degrading and beneath his dignity to do so. He continued to withhold the payment, principally at the instigation of the two neighbouring Rajahs.

The Maha Rajah had reason to believe that there existed a confederacy between the chiefs of Kayemkulam, Ambalapulay, and Chunganacherry, and that this was the cause of the non-payment of the tribute by the first named prince. His Highness therefore directed Rama Iyen Dalawah, in 921 M.E. (1746 A.D.), to proceed to the north with a sufficiently strong army and enforce the conditions of the treaty with the Kayemkulam Rajah.

The Dalawah came to Mavalikaray and demanded from the Kayemkulam Rajah the payment of the arrears of tribute due by him, and apprised him of the Maha Rajah's decision that on his failing to do so, the conditions of the treaty would be enforced. The Rajah was obstinate and resolved rather to abandon his country than to submit to the indignity of paying the tribute.

The Rajah sent a reply to the Dalawah, asking a few days time, either for paying the tribute or giving up his country, and the Dalawah acceded to the Rajah's wishes by allowing him the required time.

This chief who possessed rare firmness and resolution sent off very privately, by night, all his family, his

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treasure, jewels, and all that could be conveyed to the north, in covered boats, accompanied by trustworthy attendants, with orders to proceed beyond Trichoor. He was now left alone in his palace. Every night he collected what was left, such as silver, brass and copper vessels, which are to be found in profusion in the residencies of Oriental princes, and all valuable arms, such as brass guns, silver and brass pistols, swords of great value, and loaded them in large baggage boats, called Kattu Munchee or Kolla Munchee. These boats were despatched secretly to the deep back-water known by the name of Ashtamudikayel at the mouth of the Neendacaray of Quilon bar and their contents were consigned to the deep. This the Rajah continued doing for a week, and by that time, his palace and other establishments were completely emptied. On the 8th day, placing his private and official correspondence in the custody of the neighbouring chiefs of Ambalapulay (Chempacaserry), Chunganacherry (Thakankoor), Yetmanoor (Vadakankoor) Rajahs, he left his desk in his bedroom and stole away from the palace to the north.

After the expiration of ten days, Rama Iyen Dalawah sent a messenger to the Rajah, but to his utter surprise the Rajah's palace was found desolate and the whereabouts of the Rajah himself was unknown. In searching the palace, the Rajah's desk was discovered and its contents proved the combination of the chiefs against Travancore. Besides this, a number of swords with the inscriptions of Devs Narayanan, the name of the Ambalapulay deity, was found heaped in one of the corners of the palace. These circumstances led to the war against those principalities.

The Dutch seeing the final fall and annexation of Kayemkulam, and finding that they could not get pepper from Travancore, their rivals, the English having almost monopolised this article in the Maha Rajah's territory, became more anxious to ratify the treaty. They accepted the draft prepared and sent by the Dalawah and forwarded the same to Batavia for

sanction. At the same time they continued their friendly relations with Travancore as if the treaty had already been confirmed. This was in 922 M.E. (1747 A.D.)

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In 923 M.E. (1748 A.D.), the draft treaty was sanctioned by the Batavian Government, and the Cochin Governor was instructed to get it ratified without delay, but the Cochin Council having made some slight modifications, the Maha Rajah started fresh objections and the treaty was not adopted before a further reference to Batavia. In 928 M.E. (1753 A.D.), it was finally ratified, and the following were its principal conditions:—Travancore and the Dutch should be mutual friends; Travancore should not permit any other European power to acquire a footing in its territories, should leave undisturbed the English factories at Anjengo, Edavaye and Vilingam, but that the English should not be allowed greater advantages than they were entitled to, under existing treaties; that the Dutch should assist Travancore, both by land and sea, in case of an attack from a foreign power; the Dutch should not in any way aid the enemies of Travancore or give them refuge; the two contracting powers should apprehend and deliver up deserters to each other; Travancore should afford every protection to the Dutch resorting to its territories; that Travancore should restore to the Dutch such goods and men as belonged to them and may be wrecked on the Travancore coast; Travancore should compel its subjects to fulfil mercantile contracts with the Dutch and abstain from levying any unusually heavy duty on the goods of the Dutch who should renounce all their engagements with the Malabar princes and particularly with those against whom Travancore intended to go to war; the Dutch should supply Travancore with the munitions of war annually, to the value of 12,000 Rupees at cost price; Travancore should sell every year to the Dutch a stated quantity of pepper, at certain fixed rates, from territories then in the possession of Travancore, and also another stated quantity from

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those territories which Travancore might conquer thereafter. This treaty was concluded at Mavalikaraj, where the Dutch Commandant, F. Cunes, prevailed upon the Rajah of Cochin to meet the Maha Rajah. A vigorous but unsuccessful attempt was made by the Rajah to introduce a clause in the treaty for the protection of the Cochin Rajah's territories, but all that could be obtained from the Travancore sovereign was a promise that the Maha Rajah would be friendly with the Cochin Rajah, provided no cause of offence was given. The Cochin Rajah made his own assurances to the Maha Rajah, promising to be friendly to Travancore in future.

In the year 923 M.E. (1748 A.D.), the adoption of female members into the royal family was found necessary, as there were no hopes of any offspring from the neices of the Maha Rajah. As usual on such occasions, two young princesses from the Kolathnaud family (Cherakel house), were selected and brought from Kolathnaud to Mannath and entertained there for some months till a propitious hour for adoption arrived. They were then removed to Trevandrum and formally adopted into the royal family with pompous ceremonies and festivities.

In the same year, the marriage ceremony of one of the adopted princesses was performed at Attingal.

The Maha Rajah now directed Rama Iyen Dalawah to proceed against the Ambalapulay Rajah, and a large force marched against that chief, who, though a petty Rajah, had a well-trained force, armed with bows and arrows as well as match-locks. When this chief received information of the approaching invasion of his country, he ordered his force, under the command of Mathoo Paniker and several others, to garrison his southern frontier town, Thottapilly, where the Travancore army, under Rama Iyen Dalawah, met them and a severe action commenced. This Ambalapulay Rajah was an ingenious chieftain and had invented different kinds of arrows, the points of which

were all poisoned, so that any little wound inflicted by these arrows communicated the poison to the blood, and death followed within a couple of hours. Rama Iyen's troops suffered severely from these arrows, and when the loss of men had become considerable, his force was obliged to retreat, and the next day, a panic seized the Nair troops, under the supposition that Deva Narayanan, (popularly called Krishna Swamy) the household deity of the Rajah, had been personally conducting the war. None of the Hindu portion of the force could be persuaded to continue in the field, and consequently, Rama Iyen Dalawah had to wait for Captain D'Lanoy, with his Artillery and the Mussulman and Christian corps. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the Dalawah renewed the battle, and Captain D'Lanoy working his artillery with deadly effect, threw several balls amongst the ingenious Rajah's archers. In the course of a few hours, great loss was sustained by the enemy. The Nairs and the other Hindu portion of the Travancore army were encouraged, and the battle became general, so that the best portion of the Brahman Rajah's force was slain. Mathoo Paniker, the Commander-in-Chief, and Thekadathu Bhattathiry, the family priest of the Rajah seeing their inability to resist the Travancore power, advised the Rajah to yield and negotiate for peace, but the Rajah would not listen and placing too much confidence in his inventions and in his archers, ordered the battle to be continued, whereupon the action was renewed and the Travancore Army proved victorious and advanced towards the capital. The Rajah, was as resolute as ever, but the Paniker and Bhattathiry came over to Rama Iyen Dalawah, and asked for a truce, suspending action on their part at the same time. When the Rajah was informed of their conduct, he calmly turned to his favourite game of chess, but the Dalawah pushed forward his army to the Rajah's capital, approached the palace, took the chess-playing Rajah prisoner, and sent him to Trevandrum under a strong escort.

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The defeated Rajah's remaining force was at once disarmed, and the Dalawah took possession of his territories.

The prudent behaviour of Thekadathu Bhattathiry and Mathoo Paniker having been brought to the Maha Rajah's notice by Rama Iyen, His Highness was pleased to confer all the privileges exercised by the late Rajah of Ambalapulay over the great pagoda of that place upon the former, and large grants of lands, in addition to a title of nobility upon the latter. These gifts and privileges their families enjoy to the present day.

After the fall of Ambalapulay, the Maha Rajah contemplated the invasion of the Chunganacherry Rajah's territories, because that chief assisted both the late Kayemkulam Rajah and the now-deposed Ambalapulay Rajah, while they were at war with Travancore, and the Maha Rajah's project was expedited by the Chunganacherry Rajah's own conduct. But the Elia Rajah (heir apparent), the immediate brother of the Rajah, was more sensible and far-seeing than his brother the reigning Rajah; for looking at the fall of Ambalapulay, he expected that a similar fate was in store for Chunganacherry, as the military power of that principality was far inferior even to that of Ambalapulay. This wise prince advised his brother to offer to the Rajah of Chunganacherry as the only condition of peace the submission of the latter as a vassal to the Maha Rajah of Travancore, but the Rajah was haughty, and like the Kayemkulam chief, refused to listen to his younger brother, and consequently a misunderstanding arose between them.

The Elia Rajah proceeded to Trevandrum and represented matters to the Maha Rajah, who kindly accepted his offer and promised to treat him as a tributary.

The conduct of the young prince incensed his brother, who repeatedly applied to the Maha Rajah to

send back the prince. On the Maha Rajah's refusal to comply with his request, the Rajah had recourse to stratagems for inveigling his brother. He contrived to give currency to a rumour to the effect that the mother of the young prince was extremely ill and at the same time sent a requisition for the attendance of the prince at his mother's death-bed. When this news reached him, and when the Maha Rajah ordered him to return to his native place, the prince represented that the news of his mother's illness was false, and that the object of the Rajah in sending such a message was to entrap him. But the Maha Rajah disbelieved the prince's assertion and told him that he ought to respect his mother's wish to see him, whereupon the prince left Trevandrum for Chunganacherry, with many presents from the Maha Rajah. The fears of the young prince were but too true, for as he approached Chunganacherry, the senior Rajah sent his people to seize the poor prince and caused him to be strangled, spreading a report that the Elia Rajah had died by the bite of a snake.

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When this intelligence reached the Maha Rajah, Rama Iyen was directed to make preparations for war against the principality of Thakankoor (Chunganacherry). Some new corps of Nairs from Kulculam, Eraneel, Velavancode, Kayemkulam and other places were raised, in addition to the standing army, and Rama Iyen proceeded to Arrummolay, when a number of Telugu or Gentoo Brahmans, dependants of the Rajah, flocked together and placed themselves before Rama Iyen's army, in the belief, that in Travancore the life of a Brahman was sacred, and consequently that they would not be in danger of being killed. But Rama Iyen, though himself a Brahman, determined to do his duty, and in the first instance told the Brahmans that they had no business with the politics of the country, and that they had better look to the performance of their religious ceremonies, instead of unnecessarily endangering the safety of their lives. But heedless of the Dalawah's

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advice and remonstrances, the Brahmans began to shout and throw sand and stones at the army and to curse both it and the sovereign of Travancore. On this, Rama Iyen requested Captain D'Laney to do his duty without shrinking. This brave officer, calling a few companies of his detachment, consisting of Christians, Mauplays and fishermen, directed them to drive away the mob of Brahmans and clear the way for the march. By the confusion created by the Brahmans, sufficient time was afforded to the cowardly and weak Rajah, who was at a place near Arrummolay, to flee from his country to the north.

On the 28th Chingum 925 (11th September 1750), Rama Iyen Dalawah took possession of Chunganacherry, the seat of the Thakankoor Rajah. The State treasury, jewels, arms and accoutrements and property of a considerable value, fell into Rama Iyen's hands, among which were some brass guns and mortars of European manufacture, besides some clocks and timepieces, 28 in number. The latter, together with several arms of European manufacture, testify to the connection of Travancore with European nations from ancient times.

At this time the Maha Rajah appears to have come to Chunganacherry, as many of the nobles and chiefs called Karthavu, Kymul, Elayadam and Paniker, under the Chunganacherry Rajah, as well as those of Ambalapulay and Vadakankoor, are said to have presented themselves before the Maha Rajah at Chunganacherry and acknowledging His Highness's sovereignty, paid homage with large nuzzers. Rama Iyen marched to the north, and after fortifying the positions between Thakankoor and Vadakankoor from Komarakam to the east up to the hills at Koondoor, marched towards the north to settle the northern boundary, which was extended to the southern bank of the Periar which runs to the west by Alwaye. The newly acquired territories included those lying on the south-east and north of the Cochin Rajah's capital Thripoonithoray, with

the exception of Alangaud and Paravoor, which petty States were in the possession of their respective chiefs. All the country south of the Dutch possessions at Oranganore thus became the Travancore Maha Rajah's dominions. In the course of about fifteen years, the Travancore Maha Rajah extended his country from Edavaye to the Periar, and brought all the Rajahs, petty chiefs, and nobles, who had hitherto tyrannized over their subjects, treated them often like slaves or wild beasts, into subjection. The inhabitants of the kingdom between the Periar and Thovalay were relieved from forced military service and compelled to abandon their weapons of war for spades and ploughs and other agricultural implements, and cultivate their lands which had been lying waste for ages past. Fra Bartolomes says:—"Thus ended the dominion of the petty Malabar sovereigns; thus was humanity avenged, and thus were crimes punished, and the licentiousness suppressed, by which this country had been distracted ever since the tenth century."

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By the last conquest the Travancore territories surrounded that of Cochin, and the out-posts of the former had become greatly intermixed with those of the latter. The critical position of the Cochin Rajah was to him a source of great alarm for he was placed between two formidable powers, the Zamorin on the north and Travancore on the south, both eagerly ambitious of extending their conquests.

About this time, the deposed Rajah of Ambalapulay escaping from Kodamaloor, where he was placed by the order of the Maha Rajah proceeded towards the north. He there was joined by the Thakankoor and Vadakankoor Rajahs, and in concert with them resolved upon adopting measures for the recovery of their respective countries. They appealed for support to the then most influential nobleman, the Paliathu Menon, (generally known as Paliathu Autochen), and to other nobles, such as Kodasherry Karthavu, Koratee Kymul, &c., who were feudatories of the Cochin Rajah, and they

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all in a body went to that sovereign, and persuaded him to break the alliance concluded by him with the Travancore king in 929 M.E. (1753 A.D.), on the occasion of the Dutch treaty at Mavalikarai, and to assist the three deposed Rajahs in trying to recover their territories. The Cochin Rajah being a man of an easy disposition, was soon prevailed upon, and his consent was obtained for hostilities against Travancore. Many disaffected Nairs from Kayemkulam, Ambalapulay, Chunganacherry and Yetmanoor, were invited privately to assemble at Cochin, Palluthuruthi, Undikadvu, &c. Large numbers of militia were collected by Paliathu Menon, Kodasherry Karthavu, and other nobles, and a fleet of Munchees with guns and ammunition was got ready to convey the men by sea. While these preparations were going on, the Dutch Governor at Cochin, though a friend of the Rajah of that place, conveyed private information to the Maha Rajah, who, making the necessary preparations to meet the enemy, proceeded at the head of a large army to Mavalikarai, accompanied by the prince and Rama Iyen. At Mavalikarai, the Maha Rajah was slightly indisposed and the prince (heir apparent), together with Rama Iyen and D'Lanoy, were ordered to lead the expedition. The Dalawah, with his characteristic activity and promptitude, proceeded with Captain D'Lanoy and a strong force supplied with all kinds of arms, and reaching Poracaud, prepared to meet the enemy on their landing, while the prince remained at Kandeyoor with a reserve force. The Cochinites arrived and landed at Poracaud, and as their large army securely moved forward, squadrons of Travancore cavalry poured in by their right, took up their position to the rear, and prevented the enemy's retreat to the sea. At the same time a good number of Travancore Munchees destroyed and disabled the Cochin fleet. Rama Iyen Dalawah and Captain D'Lanoy now commenced the attack. Their army being drawn up in front of the Cochinites, the first charge threw the whole of the enemy into disorder and confusion and the greater

part of them were killed or wounded, while many ran to the sea and perished there. The Cochin Commanders, Paliathu Menon and Kodasherry Karthavu, and several nobles of minor importance, were taken prisoners and sent to Trevandrum. CHAP.
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The Dalawah detected many Nairs from Kayemkulam and other places in Travancore among the enemy's force, and orders were issued to search out all such and visit them with the punishment they deserved. This order was carefully executed under the superintendence of Captain D'Lanoy.

Rama Iyen thence proceeded to the north, and the prince joined him at Anandaswaram, which place he reached, during the battle, from Kandeyoor. Here the army was split up into two divisions; the division commanded by the prince marching to Komarakam, crossing the Bempanaud Lake; and that commanded by Rama Iyen through Ambalapulay, Alleppy and Ariyad. The army of the prince was joined on its march by the third prince of Vadakankoor and the chiefs of this part of the country viz., Navakat Kymal, Vettiyyathu Thampan, &c. At Komarakam, a large number of boats having been collected at the spot as well as from Veliyanaud and the neighbouring villages, the prince proceeded by land and a portion of his force went by backwater, and both reached Vycome and Vadayar, crossed the Vycome Lake and encamped at Sharetalay, opposite to Vycome. Rama Iyen went at first to Madathumkaray, the southern boundary of the Cochin Rajah's dominions, about five miles north of Alleppy, where the Cochin Rajah had a palace which was considered the original seat of the Cochin dynasty and from which the Rajah takes his title "Mada-Bhoopathi," as said in the first Chapter.

No member of the royal family resided at the time in the palace: it was guarded only by a few sepoy and other servants, and therefore the Dalawah found no difficulty in taking possession of it and capturing the guards.

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Rama Iyen afterwards proceeded northwards, driving away or seizing every servant of the Cochin State found in the locality, and marched as far as Arookutty, where he pitched his camp.

By this time, the Cochin Rajah became alarmed and sent an express messenger to Trevandrum, with a full apology for the mistake committed by him, and requested that the further advance of the Travancore army should be stopped. He promised to enter into a treaty of alliance and friendship upon favourable terms to Travancore. The Dutch Governor of Cochin also requested the Maha Rajah to order the Dalawah to respect their limits, which, it was stated, extended two miles south of Cochin. On the receipt of this communication from the Cochin Rajah, Rama Iyen was immediately ordered to return to Mavalikarai, without making any further conquests. Though Rama Iyen returned at once, yet he took care to retain possession of the part of the country between Alleppy and Arookutty, through which he marched, and which extends to about 24 miles. This piece of territory was sufficiently garrisoned by the Dalawah before he left.

In the middle of the year 929 M.E. (1754 A.D.), the people of Ambalapulay, Chunganacherry, Cottayam, Yetmanoor, and almost all the people of the northern districts exhibited symptoms of rebellion. They appeared to be acting under the instigation of the Zamorin and the late potentates of Thakankoor, Vadakankoor, &c. Rama Iyen Dalawah was therefore compelled to advance to these districts with an army sufficient to overawe the rebels. With all his ability and energy, being embarrassed and perplexed by the confused state of affairs, he requested the Maha Rajah to visit the disaffected districts. The Maha Rajah, not being in good health, deputed his nephew, the heir apparent, to the rebellious province with his army. Nevertheless, there appears to have been great cause for anxiety, as even the brave Rama Iyen Dal-

wah continued to show signs of uneasiness and again requested the Maha Rajah to visit these places and stay there at least for ten days. The Maha Rajah did so. Though the rebellious spirit of the people subsided on the appearance of the Maha Rajah and peace was restored, still the Maha Rajah's prudence dictated to him the necessity of adopting more effectual and decisive measures to check a recurrence of rebellion in the northern parts of the kingdom.

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With this view, the Maha Rajah wrote to Hyder Ali at once, asking him whether he would render assistance with his troops if His Highness was in need of it. The rising Mussulman chief of Mysore received the Maha Rajah's communication with due respect, and promised to send a portion of his army from Dindigul, via Cumbum and Goodalore.

This private arrangement of the Maha Rajah with the dreaded Hyder Ali having come to the knowledge of the chiefs of the disaffected provinces, they were all frightened and never showed the least propensity to rebel.

The Maha Rajah did not avail himself of the assistance promised by Hyder. The Maha Rajah kept silence on the subject for, on re-consideration, it suggested itself to His Highness that the admission of the Mysoreans into Travancore would ultimately prove injurious to the kingdom. Hyder appears to have written to the Maha Rajah, saying that his troops were ready, and asking why His Highness did not call for their aid. The Maha Rajah very politely and respectfully declined the proferred assistance, informing Hyder Ali that his country was fortunately then enjoying tranquillity and that the assistance asked for, and so readily granted, was not needed. The drift of this reply the Mysore chief understood and thus was sown the first seed of enmity between Mysore and Travancore.

During the continuance of war in north Travancore, several changes took place in the government of the

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Pandyan provinces, including Madura, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, &c., and the sovereignty finally fell into the hands of the Nabob of the Carnatic. The Maha Rajah's attention having been directed, for a long time past, to the management of the internal affairs of his kingdom and the suppression of the rebellion in the north, he had neglected adopting measures for the protection and maintenance of his eastern possessions, including Valliyoor, Kalacaud, &c. The Nabob's Governor at Trichinopoly took advantage of this opportunity and annexed those tracts to the Madura province, and thus the Maha Rajah was deprived of those places for a long time.

In 927 M.E. (1752 A.D.), Moodemiah, the Nabob's Viceroy at Trichinopoly, growing powerful established himself as an independant chief, and being a very covetous man, disposed of villages and territories on receiving sufficient consideration for them. The Maha Rajah, understanding this disposition of Moodemiah, deputed Rams Iyen Dalawah to Tinnevely, where Moodemiah had arrived on a visit. The Dalawah represented the Maha Rajah's ancient claims to the territories in the east. Possession of the country lying between Cape Comorin and Kalacaud, to the extent of about 80 miles, including Valliyoor, was obtained for a sufficiently large consideration. Rams Iyen Dalawah returned to Travandrum after stationing about 2,000 of the Travancore Maha Rajah's force at Kalacaud, for the protection of the districts thus purchased by Travancore.

In 980 M.E. (1755 A.D.), Mahomed Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic, wished to supplant Moodemiah, who had proved refractory and had proclaimed himself the sole ruler of the Pandyan empire. The Nabob appointed his General, Maphuz Khan, to supersede Moodemiah, and sent him with a small force requesting the Nabob's allies, the English at Madras, to send a detachment to assist the Khan, not only in assuming his office, but also in bringing the inhabitants

into subjection. Colonel Heron, with 500 Europeans and 2,000 Natives, was ordered to Trichinopoly under the pretext of assisting Maphuz Khan, but probably the English too had an eye on the beautiful and highly productive Pandyan empire, comprising the rich countries of Madura, Trichinopoly and Tinnevely. The allied forces arrived at Tinnevely about Kumbham 930 M.E. (March 1755 A.D.), after having reduced Madura on their way. When this intelligence reached Kalacaud, the Travancore garrison, consisting of 2,000 sepoys stationed in that fort, was alarmed and finding that they were no match for the combined forces of the Nabob and the English, the Travancore commandant abandoned the fort and Kalacaud, and withdrew the garrison to Thovalay. In Meenam-madom (April), Maphuz Khan after taking charge of the fort and establishing his authority there went to Tinnevely and Colonel Heron returned with the English force to Trichinopoly.

Moodemiah, who fled from Tinnevely after his defeat, found an asylum under the protection of Pulithaver, a Poligar, and on the departure of the English troops from Tinnevely to Trichinopoly, he applied to the Maha Rajah for assistance and urged on him to take back the lost territory of Kalacaud. Pulithaver also offered his assistance, as that Poligar was for a long time dependent on Travancore. A strong force, consisting of 2,000 infantry and an equal number of cavalry, was despatched from Travancore, accompanied by the prince and Moodemiah, and without much resistance Kalacaud was taken. The Maha Rajah, however, thinking that such a proceeding would offend the English Government, ordered the withdrawal of his troops for some time, and postponed all operations till he made himself sure that the retaking of his usurped territories would not offend the English. The Maha Rajah subsequently ordered back a sufficient force, under the command of Captain D'Lanoy assisted by the Poligar Pulithaver. Maphuz Khan's troops were defeated, the Kalacaud fort cap-

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tured and the 500 infantry and 200 cavalry, who defended it, were taken prisoners. Thus the Maha Rajah once more recovered Kalacaud and all the territories appertaining to it. The Travancore kingdom now extended from Periar in the north, to Kalacaud in the south.

Towards the middle of 930 M.E. and the beginning of 1755 A.D., the Zamorin of Calicut sent a formidable army, under the command of some of his subordinate princes, to invade the Cochin Rajah's territories. All the countries north of Cochin were taken possession of and military stations at Trichoor, Cranganore and Paravoor established. On the remonstrances of the Dutch, the further progress of the army, which was on its way to Thripoonithoray to attack that place, was arrested. In the following year 931 M.E. (1756 A.D.), the Zamorin met the Dutch Governor and informed him that he would spare the Dutch ally, the Cochin Rajah, and his country, provided the Dutch join him in his intended invasion of Travancore. The Dutch Governor very cunningly said that he would give this proposal his best consideration, provided the Zamorin would give back all the Dutch estates of which he had assumed possession, and enter into a treaty of perpetual alliance with the Dutch. The Zamorin also sent a reply similar to the one sent by the Governor, i. e., that he would give the matter his best consideration.

While matters stood thus, the Dutch Governor having written to the Maha Rajah of Travancore, informed His Highness that the Zamorin was about to send down his troops by the backwater, as well as by sea, every preparation was made by His Highness to meet the invading army at Arookutty as well as at Poracaud. The Zamorin's army came by sea in a large fleet of native craft, and as it was being landed, Captain D'Lanoy's force, accompanied by Rama Iyen Dalawah, met the enemy and after a vigorous encounter, compelled the Zamorin's force to retreat with great

loss of life and ammunition. Many of the enemy's ^{CHAP.} boats were captured and destroyed and a portion of ^{II.} the force was drowned.

This defeat greatly checked the Zamorin's haughty and arrogant spirit. But, chagrined and humiliated as he was, he again began to prepare for another invasion, and collecting another army of Arabs and Nairs, he was about to start when he was compelled to relinquish his object and hasten back for the protection of his own dominions from the claws of the Mysore lion, Hyder Ali Khan, who then made a descent on Malabar.

In 982 M.E. (1757 A.D.), the Cochin Rajah, who was solicitous for an interview with the Travancore Maha Rajah, ever since he learned his mistake and suffered the mishap at Poracaud, and was now desirous of entering into a treaty with His Highness, repaired to Mavalikarai, where the Maha Rajah then was, and tendered in person his apologies for his reckless proceedings at Poracaud, which he attributed entirely to the ill-advice of his friends and ministers. A new treaty was drawn out, by which the Cochin Rajah declared perpetual alliance with Travancore; voluntarily ceded all those portions of his territories which the Travancore army had conquered; relinquished all his claims to the northern petty principalities, with the exception of Allangaud and Paravoor; and bound himself to refrain from all intercourse with the deposed Rajahs of Ambalapulay, Thakankoor and Vadakankoor.

In narrating a train of events, connected with battles and conquests, in chronological order, many useful plans and systems of administration which were introduced and promulgated by this wise Maha Rajah and his meritorious minister, have been reserved for special mention, and these shall now be noticed.

After the conquest of Kayamkulam and Ambalapulay, and the signal victories over the Thakankoor and Vadakankoor Rajahs, Captain D'Lanoy was

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raised to the rank of General and appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Travancore army. He was ever afterwards known to the Travancoreans as the Valia Kappithan, the Great Captain, and in his latter days was specially employed in strengthening the fortifications of the country.

The Maha Rajah finding it an imperative necessity to adopt strong and efficient defensive measures authorized Rama Iyen Dalawah to have forts and other necessary defensive works constructed under the sole care and superintendence of General D'Lanoy.

The construction of all the fortifications was finished with great speed and economy. Strong forts, with granite walls, were constructed enclosing the Maha Rajah's residence at Padmanabhapuram; a still larger one, surrounding a hill at Udayagherry; and a third at Cape Comorin, on the sea beach at Aluwakaray, south-east of the Cape Comorin pagoda. From this last, a strong wall was built up to the hill at Aramboly, fortifying in a great degree the earthen works already thrown there, as a barrier between the sea and hills. Bastions, batteries and powder magazines were also constructed at intervals. An iron foundry was established at Udayagherry where cannons, mortars and balls were cast, and all the batteries were supplied with the necessary pieces of artillery. After completing these works in the south, D'Lanoy proceeded to the north, and erected batteries on the sea coast at different places between Cape Comorin and Poracaud. The fortifications at Quilon, Mavalikaray, Chunganacherry, Cottayam, Yetmanoor and Muvattupulay were also strengthened. He repaired many of the old forts of the late chiefs of the localities and constructed new batteries and forts with laterite, some of which are still to be seen partly in ruins, and others in a damaged state, overgrown with brushwood, such as those at Karuvannoor in Thodupulay, Komarakam in Yetmanoor, Lalam in Meenachil, and Peravom in Muvattupulay.



PADMANABHA PURAM FORT AND THE POWDER MAGAZINE.

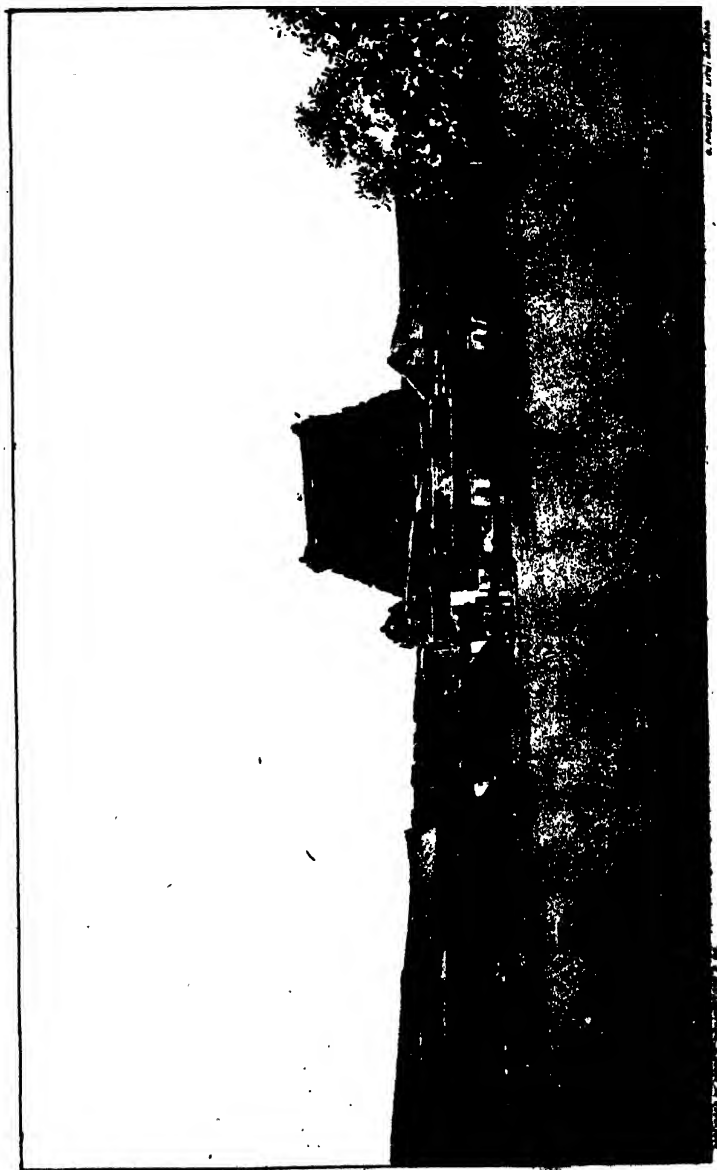
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special royal proclamation. These articles were to be sold afterwards by the sircar to the merchants, wholesale as well as retail. Rules were framed and established for the guidance of the commercial department and special royal proclamations were issued, legalizing the monopoly of all such articles by the sircar and prohibiting all private dealings in them. By these enactments, it became the law that no one could sell these articles, even if produced by him, to any one but the sircar and that no one could purchase these articles, even for private consumption, from any other quarter, save from the sircar stores.

The Dalawah then introduced the system of Chowkeys, for levying duty on all articles transmitted and transported from place to place. For this purpose, rules were framed fixing tariff rates for all the articles and the duty to be levied thereon. Stations were also fixed and persons appointed for the performance of the functions of each department.

A methodical plan for manufacturing salt was adopted, and the sale of that necessary article was restricted to particular stations, where salt-stores and selling-houses called Pandakasalas, were opened. Rates for the purchase and sale of salt throughout the country were at the same time fixed. To ensure the successful carrying out of all these measures and to give effectual support to the agencies employed in connection therewith, Rama Iyen Dalawah was continually moving about, with a large retinue, from Padmanabhapuram to Muvattupulay and vice versa, and in the course of a couple of years, all the above systems were peaceably and permanently established, without any great discontent amongst the populace.

The second step adopted by the Dalawah was to regulate the expenditure of the State in proportion to its income which had been previously accurately ascertained. In order to secure the expenditure on a fixed scale, without considerably exceeding the income, the Dalawah had drawn out a Pathivu Kanaku (fixed



PAGODA TOWER TREVANDRUM.

account), with great care and precision, noting down the expenses for the Devaswams, Oottupurahs, palace, revenue and military establishments, pensions, purchase of goods, and for meeting all the contingent charges. This valuable and masterly Pathivu Kanaku met with the full approbation of the Maha Rajah and the officers of the State. Most of these rules are even to this day in observance.

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Rama Iyen Dalawah repaired and constructed palaces for the Maha Rajah within the Trevandrum fort. In order to give additional strength to the Trevandrum fort, the old mud wall was partly enclosed by a granite wall. Before the work was finished, Rama Iyen died.

Several other works of importance were executed under the personal superintendence of the Maha Rajah and his Dalawah, the greatest of which was the Sewalipuray, a building surrounding the pagoda measuring 420 feet from east to west and 226½ feet from north to south. The breadth and height of this structure are respectively 20 and 23 feet. It is supported by 368 pillars, each measuring 13 feet in height and 2½ feet in diameter. The terrace is paved with granite slabs, each 25 feet long, 2½ feet broad, and 1½ feet thick. The great merit of this undertaking is that it was completed in the seventh month after its commencement. There were 4,000 masons daily at work who were brought down from Madura, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely and other places, and to assist them there were employed daily 6,000 coolies and 100 elephants.

Similar to the above work was the eastern Gopuram (gate tower of the pagoda), the foundations of which were laid in 741 M.E. (1565 A.D.). It was undertaken and executed up to its fifth story in a very short time.

The golden Dhvajam (flag staff) was constructed and planted in front of the pagoda. The teak-wood for this work was cut from the Kakachel forest, some thirty miles east of Trevandrum, and according to the Hindu Sastras, the wood was not allowed to touch the

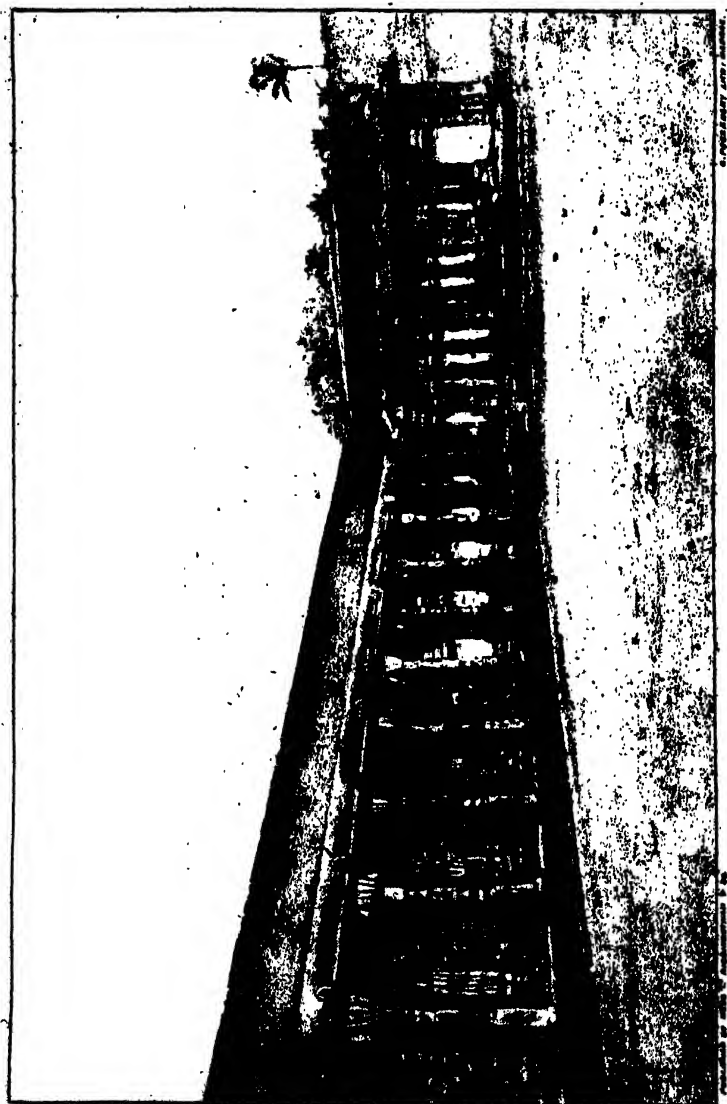
CHAP.
II. ground, but was supported by men and elephants when it was felled and thence it was carried to Trevandrum, without its once touching the ground.

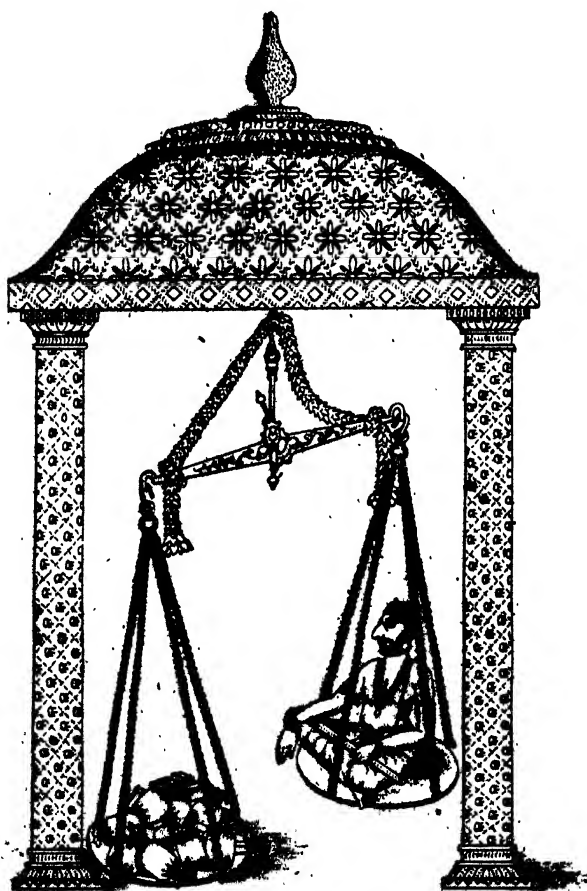
The palace at Padmanabhapuram and that at Krishnapuram, as also several Oottupurams (feeding-houses) and other useful buildings, were constructed under Rama Iyen's superintendence.* And all these are now living monuments of the versatile talents of the renowned Maha Rajah and his able minister.

Mavalikarai being a place highly suited for commercial purposes, especially for collecting and storing pepper produced in the neighbouring districts, Rama Iyen made that place his head-quarters, and in addition to the store-houses, a set of large and spacious buildings was constructed and Mavalikarai was made the centre of the commercial department.

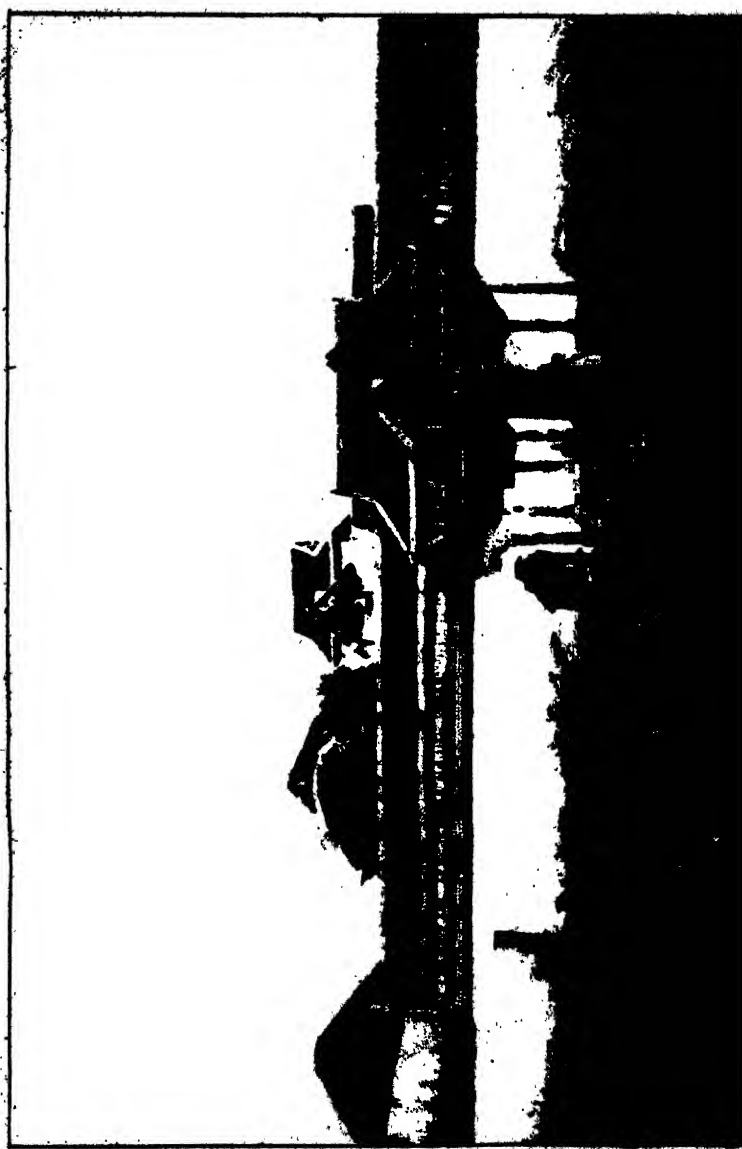
After the subjection of the petty Rajahs, chiefs, Madempimar, and Ettu Veetil Pillamar, the Maha Rajah initiated certain measures in accordance with the prescriptions of the Vedas, not only for expiating the sin incurred by war, but also for the prosperity of the kingdom and its inhabitants. His Highness therefore convened an assemblage of all the learned Brahmans of Malabar, Tinnevely and Madura, and desired them to make researches in the three Vedas and the six Sastras and find out therefrom the most effective form of prayer to be adopted for the above purpose. The Brahmans, after examination, recommended the Bhadradeepam and Murajapom ceremonies and the prayers prescribed in the Vedas as observed by one of the Kshatria kings of a former age, (Karthaveerajuna). This ceremony consists in the lighting of a sacred lamp on the 1st of the month of Magarom (18th January); after seven days prayers

* Feeding-houses were mostly established in the vicinity of roads or renowned pagodas and are generally for the benefit of Brahman travellers as also for the support of the poor of all castes. Every Oottupuram has a provision for feeding the poor with a meal called *senjes* (boiled-rice water) besides these, special poor-houses were also established in different parts of the country.





**MARTHANDA VYRMAH MANA RAJA
PERFORMING THULAPURUSNA DANUM**





MARTHANDA YURMAH MAHA RAJAH
ENTERING INTO THE TUB.

and offerings, this is to be repeated on the 1st Karkadagam (15th July), for five consecutive years. In the sixth year, the grand ceremony of Murajapom is to be performed. It lasts eight weeks or fifty-six days, and on the concluding day, one hundred thousand lamps are to be lighted. The literal meaning of the word *Murajapom* is prayer by turns; *mura* is turn, and *japom* is chanting prayers, and so *Murajapom* is the praying by turns of a large number of Brahmans, who assemble at the great Pagoda at Trevandrum and repeat the prayers from six to ten in the morning, and from eight in the evening. The *Murajapom* also means a chanting of the Vedas. This is intended, as has been already said, for the express purpose of devoutly imploring the blessings of Providence on the country and the royal family. This ceremony will, possibly, be considered an extraordinary one by the modern world of the west, but when the true and real intention is taken into consideration, it need excite no wonder or ridicule, for it is entitled to admiration, as the act fully testifies the godly disposition and piety of the sovereign and the depth of his own religious convictions. Prayers and praises of God, whether they be repeated in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Syriac, or Sanscrit are all the same in intention, as long as we thereby supplicate the Creator for mercy and forgiveness of sins. No sensible person would therefore deride them.

This general prayer and thanksgiving ceremony, which had not been performed by any of the Hindu kings and princes on such a scale for ages, was commenced by the Maha Rajah on the 3rd Mithunam 919 M.E. (5th July 1744 A.D.), though it is recorded that ceremonies of this kind, on a minor scale, had been performed in the pagodas at Thiruvattar and Valvachagoshitam near Padmanabhapuram, Suchendrum, Kalculam and Attingal, from time immemorial by the ancestors of this Maha Rajah.

In the 6th year, 925 M.E. (1750 A.D.), the first

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Murajapom was celebrated in the grandest possible style, at an outlay of about two lacs of rupees. In the next year, 926 M.E. (1751 A.D.), the coronation ceremony (Hirannya Garbham donation) was performed, Thulapurusha danam having been already celebrated in 924 M.E. (1749 A.D.). In 928 M.E. (1753 A.D.), the remaining 14 danams were performed at a cost of $8\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of fanams or 1,21,000 and odd rupees.

Though Travancore was now perfectly freed from the long continued molestations and opposition of the Ettu Veetil Pillamar and their confederate chiefs, and the recurrence of oppression on their part had been rendered impossible by the subjugation of the insurgent feudatories; though all sources of danger from neighbouring principalities had been removed by the expulsion of the petty Rajahs from their strongholds; and though success had attended all the acts of the Maha Rajah in enforcing order and regularity in the kingdom, constructing fortifications, introducing a scheme of military organization, promulgating a sound system of administration, and bringing about a reign of perfect peace throughout the Maha Rajah's dominions, still His Highness' prudence and wisdom suggested his resorting to further measures for the protection of his ancient house and his dearly acquired possessions. Consequently, this wise and remarkable sovereign, who had latterly become more of a religious devotee than a despotic king, adopted a most important precautionary measure as a lasting and powerful check on any future internal commotion in the country. This was effected by connecting the government of the State with religion, and making the kingdom sacred in the eyes of all Hindus, in the manner following:

After the conquest of Kayamkulam, and taking possession of Dasinganaud, Elayada Swaroopam, and re-establishing the Travancore dominions up to Valliyoor in the east and Thricunnapulay in the north, the Maha Rajah proceeded on the morning of the 5th

Madom 925 M.E. (17th January 1750 A.D.), to the great pagoda at Trevandrum, accompanied by the heir apparent with the other male and female members of the family, and the prime minister Rama Iyen. After assembling all the priests and the Brahmanical body attached to the pagoda called the Yogakar; the Maha Rajah with great reverence and devotion laid his State sword on the Ottakel Mandapom, in the presence of the image of Sree Padmanabha Swamy, and made over the kingdom of Travancore to the Devaswam, declaring that from that day forward, he was the vassal or agent of the deity, Sree Padmanabha Swamy, and that he would conduct the affairs of the kingdom as a trustee of the Devaswam. From this day, the Maha Rajah assumed the title of "Sree Padmanabha Dasa," i. e., a servant or minister of Sree Padmanabhan. This measure, we may reasonably believe, had the desired effect, for since that time the people of Travancore have had a devoted attachment* and sacred regard for the royal house, and this has continued unchanged up to this day. This religious regard for the sovereignty is so great that the people of Travancore both high and low would not dare to speak ill of the Maha Rajah or the royal family, for they hold that by doing so, they commit a sin known as "Swamy-drohum," which means doing mischief to the Swamy (the deity or lord).

Thus, this wise Maha Rajah strengthened the position of his heirs with every support, religious, political or military.

* "But although the entire system can only thus be developed, some of its leading features and characteristic principles discoverable from their manifest effects, and the first of those is a devoted attachment borne by all descriptions of people to the Rajah to whose character they are taught to attach an idea bordering on the sacred, from this principle their obedience to his commands, whether imposed direct or through the agency of his minister, who is generally known to them by the title of Dalawah is implicit."

Selections from the records of Travancore, Part II, page 16. Lieutenant Arther's Report forwarded to the Madras Government by Colonel Munro, 25th December 1810.

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It has been already said that during the reign of the former Rajahs, Travancore had made an agreement with the Governor of the Pandyan empire at Trichinopoly, promising to pay a nominal annual tribute for obtaining military aid, but subsequently, the Nabob of the Carnatic having taken the direct government of that empire, the Maha Rajah considered it wise and prudent to renew this treaty directly with the Nabob, which was accordingly done upon more favourable terms and conditions. By this treaty, the powerful aid of one of the greatest potentates of Southern India was secured to Travancore, which was bound to pay to the Nabob 6,000 rupees, and a tribute in the shape of an elephant annually, the Nabob promising to afford every protection to Travancore from foreign and local enemies. Thus Travancore became perfectly secure, having two powerful allies to guard and protect her, the Nabob in the east and the Dutch in the west, while the English merchants at Anjengo were also ready to assist her when needed.

After making the kingdom of Travancore the property of Sree Pandara Vagay, and converting all denominations of the State servants into Sree Pandarakariyum Chaywargal (men who perform the duty of the holy financial administration), the name of the talooks (districts) was changed and styled Mandapathomvathukal (the gate or presence of the pagoda,) and all business was now carried on under the new titles. The Maha Rajah having next ordered Rama Iyen Dalawah to frame regular accounts and rules for fixing permanent taxes on lands and gardens, that official commenced a survey of them in 928 M.E. (1751 A.D.), and conducted and completed this laborious work throughout Travancore in 929 M.E. (1754 A.D.) The first Anyacattu account (assessment) in Travancore was clearly framed out after this survey, and the holders of lands and gardens were furnished with a Pathivu (registry).

Several good roads and water communications for

the convenience of passengers as well as for the convenient march of troops, were opened during this reign, under the supervision of Rama Iyen Dalawah. The most remarkable of these were the canal which connects the backwaters of Quilon and Kayemkulam through Chowray and Ponimannay, the canal by which the Karthigapilly river is joined with the Kayemkulam broad backwater at the north eastern end of it, passing through the village of Kayemkulam and Pathiyoore to the north up to the above river, and the Paroor canal, south of Quilon by which a passage was opened between the backwaters of Paroor and Edavaye.

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While Rama Iyen Dalawah was thus carrying on his most successful administration, he fell ill at Mavalikarai, in Dhānu 931 M.E. (1756 A.D.) and when his recovery was despaired of the Maha Rajah felt exceedingly sorry and directed the Elia Rajah, Bala Rama Vurmah, to proceed to Mavalikarai and visit Rama Iyen, and ascertain from him his wishes as to the mode in which His Highness could perpetuate the memory of so trustworthy and upright a minister, and one who had proved himself a veritable hero. The Elia Rajah had also been commissioned to convey the Maha Rajah's expressions of sympathy with the sick minister.

The prince started at once to Mavalikarai and found the Dalawah in a sinking state, and on communicating to him his uncle's wishes, Rama Iyen disclaimed any personal right to the proposed honor, saying that he was merely an instrument in the hands of his royal master. Rama Iyen observed at the same time that he had accomplished all his aims for the good of the kingdom, but the only matter in which he was disappointed was, that he was not permitted to conquer and annex the whole of the Cochin Rajah's territories and add that Rajah's name to the Travancore pension-list, along with the names of all the other princes conquered and pensioned by the strong hand of the Maha Rajah.

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His Highness the Elia Rajah returned to Travandrum, and soon afterwards Rama Iyen Dalawah expired. The Maha Rajah on hearing from the prince all that had transpired, as well as the sad intelligence of the Dalawah's death, was overwhelmed with sorrow, and His Highness took it so deeply to heart, that ever after, His Highness' mind became a prey to melancholy reflections.

It was reported, as a matter of great surprise, that no private property of any considerable value was found in the deceased Dalawah's residence, though he had been closely attached to the Maha Rajah from his boyhood, and had held the most responsible appointments of secretary to the Maha Rajah for eight years, and latterly that of prime minister for the long period of nineteen years.

The death of Rama Iyen Dalawah cast a gloom over every heart, and the whole administration seemed to have been under the shadow of a dark cloud for a time.

No successor was appointed in the room of Rama Iyen for the next two years, but the functions of prime minister were discharged by Iyappen Marthanda Pillay, Sarvadhikariakar. The Maha Rajah, though only 53 years of age, began to feel unwell and gradually became weak and infirm and died on the 27th Mithunam 933 M.E. (1758 A.D.), without the least pain or agony, in perfect consciousness and in the full possession of all his faculties.

The Maha Rajah expired, sinking quietly as if he fell asleep, in the presence of all the members of the royal family, and a large crowd of attendants, officers, &c., &c. But a few hours before his death, he called the heir apparent before him and gave that prince his last advice on the following points :—

1. "That no deviation whatever should be made in regard to the dedication of the kingdom to Sree Padmanabha Swamy, and that all further territorial acquisitions should be made over to the Devaswam."

2. "That not a hair's breadth of alteration or deviation should be made in the established charities and the institutions connected with the same." CHAP.
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3. "That no family dissension or quarrel should be allowed in the royal house."

4. "That the expenses of the State should not be allowed to exceed the income."

5. "That the palace expenditure should be defrayed from the profits of the commercial department."

6. "That, above all, the friendship existing between the English East India Company and Travancore should be maintained at any risk, and that full confidence should always be placed in the support and aid of that honorable association."

On the solemn assurance of obedience by the prince to all these really valuable instructions, the dying Maha Rajah exhibited signs of perfect satisfaction, and with a happy face, blessed his worthy nephew. After a few minutes' silence, he committed his soul to his Creator by repeating prayers and hymns in praise of the supreme Spirit.

There have been numerous instances in which it was clear that divine succour had been extended to this extremely pious Maha Rajah from his boyhood, some of which were described in this and in the preceding Chapter, but a very noticeable one, the writer thinks, has not been brought into prominence in the narration of the train of events, and this omission he will now try to remedy here.

During the long continued war with Kayemkulam, the Maha Rajah's treasury was completely drained and a serious financial embarrassment ensued, when, to the help of the Maha Rajah, was found by divine blessing, in a village called Kulasekhara Mangalam, attached to the Vattookavu Adhikaram, in the Trevandrum district, mines of valuable gems consisting of cat's-eye and ruby of an inferior quality called Thalum by the natives. This was followed by the

discovery of similar mines about Travancore, Arumanay in Velavancode, Kodaman near Attingal, and Karumankunnu in Sheraingheel.

The incidents in and recollections of the career of this Maha Rajah and his prime minister Rama Iyen, who flourished in times when western civilization and education were unknown in Travancore, and when the Europeans considered the natives a barbarous nation, are found not only in the annals of Travancore and its official records, but have also formed the themes of the songs of the peasantry. The boatmen, as well as the day labourers and even native performers, have their songs founded upon the doings of this Maha Rajah and many of his ministers, of whom Rama Iyen's name stands foremost.

There are various anecdotes often related with delight, about this famous Maha Rajah and his heroic ministers, but many being unauthenticated by records are not noticed in this work. Nevertheless, a few of the reliable ones concerning the Maha Rajah and his meritorious minister, may suffice to show how that monarch and his prime minister were ever ready to sacrifice their own comforts, while contributing to the welfare of the country, and also how strict and impartial they were in the promotion of the public weal.

During the time the water channel from Ponmanay towards the south, as mentioned above, was being opened, a part of the locality was found rocky, and the channel had to be cut through the middle of it. The process of blasting not being known in those days, manual labour was the only agency whereby the work could be effected. It was conducted under the personal superintendence of the Maha Rajah. In a most difficult part of the locality, the work was once stopped for several days. On this, His Highness proceeded to occupy a block of rock which served for a throne on one side of the channel, and sat there from eight in the morning till six in the evening, making

only one man during the whole day. A servant used to hold a large umbrella of palm leaves, with a long pole, after the Malabar fashion, over the Maha Rajah, in order to protect the royal person from the rays of the scorching sun, but thinking that the services of this servant could be utilised for the canal work, the Rajah ordered one of the stone cutters to pierce a deep hole in the rock. This having been done, the Maha Rajah ordered the servant to fix the pole of the umbrella in the hole, and seated himself under its shade, directing the servant to work in the canal along with the coolies. This hole in the rock, and the place where the Maha Rajah was seated, are still seen at a place between Ponmanay and Padmanabhapuram as a monument of the perseverance and energy of this wise sovereign.

It is also said that after completing the construction of the granite building called Seewali Puray, fragments and chippings of granite were left about the place, and there was scarcely any spot within the wall of the pagoda that was not disfigured by such rubbish. The festival in the pagoda being near at hand the Maha Rajah ordered the clearing of the place with all possible haste, but the work was somewhat of an Herculean nature, and could not be finished quickly. But one day, the Maha Rajah himself attended the place, and found one thousand men at work. His Highness quietly set himself among the workmen, spread his handkerchief which he had in his hand, and picking a small quantity of granite chippings, carried them on his head and threw them outside the wall, and walked away to the palace. This so stimulated not only the working men, but also the spectators, that before evening the spot was perfectly cleared of all the rubbish.

The strictness of the Maha Rajah, in economising his time, is also highly commended, an instance of which is the following. Once upon a time, two ambassadors of the Carnatic Nabob came to His

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Highness on certain business, but before commencing with their errand they entered into a long preamble, when the Maha Rajah interrupted them gravely and said "men, don't be too tedious, life is short."

It may not be out of place to narrate here another a very instructive anecdote, regarding the Maha Rajah and his minister Rama Iyen, exemplifying the strict and rigorous discipline exacted from the royal family, even from the heir apparent to the throne, and showing likewise how rigidly the established rules were enforced and how independent the position of the prime minister himself had been made. During his minority, the Elia Rajah, Bala Rama Vurmah (the heir apparent), was very fond of dramatic and theatrical entertainments. On a certain night, while the performance was going on, the oil in the lamps running short, the prince ordered his attendant to go to the pagoda store and fetch a quantity, but the store-keeper said that he could not give the oil without the sanction of the Dalawah. The prince enraged at this, ordered his servants to enter the store, and forcibly take the required quantity of oil.

The next day the matter was reported to Rama Iyen, and through him it reached the Maha Rajah's ears. Rama Iyen suggested to His Highness the imperative necessity of adopting such measures as would check the young prince's propensity to carry out his arbitrary orders, and the decision arrived at was to deport the prince at once to the palace at Cape Comorin, where he was to reside and perform penance and devotion to the goddess, and implore her mercy for righting his understanding and sense. The prince walked out, without a murmur, either from himself, or from his good mother, the semor Rane of Attingal, or from the other members of the family, for it had always been one of the peculiar virtues of the Travancore royal family to be strictly obedient to their head, whose order the rest consider as solemn law. A junior member, even the immediate heir to the throne,

behaves himself in the presence of his senior as an ordinary member of society in his bearing, address, and deportment. The junior member, in addressing the sovereign, says "your holy self" and in speaking of himself "your vassal." None would dare to say "you" or "I." Such are the forms enjoined by the rules of this royal family from time immemorial, and any instance of departure from this sacred observance or presumptuous speech on the part of any member, has been unknown in this kingdom.

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Rama Iyen Dalawah, though a Hindu Brahman, continued an unmarried man, and kept aloof from all family connections from the day of his entering the service up to the day of his death. He is said to have laughed at his friends' telling him that a Brahman's soul could not be saved according to the canons of the Vedas, unless his son performs his funeral rites, and that consequently he should enter into the matrimonial state. He observed that he had to look to a better and still more important and primary matter concerning himself in this world, than the one in the next, that is, his service to his sovereign and his duty to his fellow creatures. Should he bind himself into a relationship with any family by marriage, he said he should find himself entangled in a net, restraining his free movements, and thwarting him in the conscientious discharge of his public functions. In consideration of these points, he resolved to remain an unmarried man through the whole course of his life.

It also appears that the Dalawah had a Sudra woman near Mavalikaray as his concubine and that at his death he left a packet in her hands, with instructions to produce the same before His Highness the Maha Rajah, after the Dalawah's death. This poor woman was unable to present herself before the Maha Rajah during that sovereign's life-time, but it is satisfactory to find that in the next reign, she went to Trevandrum, and that fortunately the packet reached the hands of the Maha Rajah, who, on opening it, was

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astonished to find a cadjan ticket, in the handwriting of Rama Iyen, stating that the custodian of that ticket was a poor woman and an old dependant upon him; that she deserved His Highness' charitable notice; and that the tax of a few chuckrams on the garden in which she had her cottage and on the acre of land adjoining it, which was also hers, might be made the royal grant of Anubhavam to her. His Highness after perusing the ticket, handsomely rewarded her, over and above the recommendation of the late minister.

It was during the reign of this sovereign that an order akin to that of knighthood, was established as a kind of stimulus to those in the public service. Distinguished services were rewarded by this honor. It was denominated *Ohempakaramen*. The ceremonies observed on the occasion of conferring such a title are as follows:—The recipient of this distinguished honor when selected, is presented before the Maha Rajah on a propitious day fixed for the ceremonial. His Highness then, delivering a short speech in the presence of all the officers of State, expressive of the satisfaction afforded by the knight-elect to justify His Highness' bestowing such an exalted title on him, gives him some special presents and names him by the title *Ohempakaramen* after his name. The knight then proceeds to the gate of the palace followed by the prime minister and other officials. At the gate, in a hall attached to it, takes place the subsequent ceremony which consists in the presentation of a new piece of a peculiar kind of silk, eight yards long, called *Veeravaly Pattu* and the wearing of a suit of new clothes. The knight being dressed properly, after the Travancore fashion, one end of the silk is tied round his head, leaving the other end to the extent of two and a half or three yards loose, like the train of a long robe. He is then placed on an elephant and behind him three nobles or other persons invested with similar titles, seat themselves bearing the train of the knight's turban. The knight is

then carried in procession, accompanied by a native band, a small detachment of military, together with all the State peons, karikaraha, and other servants. The procession moves round the four streets inside the fort, and returns to the gate, where the knight dismounts from the elephant and proceeds with the prime minister who is waiting for him to the latter's seat where the knight then enjoys the privilege of being seated with the minister. The new knight is now presented with a quantity of betel leaves and arecanuts, together with a few ripe limes in a silver plate, called thattom or thampalam, and thus ends the ceremony. From this day the title Chempakaramen Pillay is always added to his name.

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The Maha Rajah adopted several other measures for rewarding meritorious men, by giving titles, presents, lands, &c., &c., too numerous to be detailed here. Suffice it to say, that every encouragement was held out to the members of the various services, and while toleration was impartially extended to the people in general without reference to caste or creed, Hindus, Christians, Mahomedans and Jews were all allowed the exercise of their respective religions freely and without being molested or disturbed by any one; but they were not allowed to exhibit the least spirit of rivalry or disaffection amongst themselves. In short, by this wise and impartial government, the people of Travancore in general, as well as all the sirkar officials held the sovereign in great veneration, and looked upon His Highness as a common father to them.

The Maha Rajah was most economical, and knew well the value of public money; consequently every pie collected from the people, and from His Highness' country was usefully spent. His Highness did not build any magnificent palace, like the Thirumala Naick's palace at Madura for his own personal accommodation and comfort; no valuable jewels were purchased or made for his personal adornment, nor was the private treasury loaded by an accumulation of

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public money. All the wealth the Maha Rajah acquired during a reign of about thirty years, was applied to honorable and useful purposes, to the consolidation of his kingdom by territorial acquisitions and vast improvements; which, to this day, proudly and eloquently proclaim the renowned Maha Rajah's incomparable wisdom and justice and the grandeur and splendour of his Government.

The following observations on the talents and heroism of this sovereign, described by Fra Paolinoda San Bartolomeo, in his "Voyages to the East Indies" are here transcribed, as corroborative of what has been detailed in this history:—

"The kings of Travancor had hitherto been insignificant princes, whose territories extended only about fifteen or twenty miles up the country from Cape Comari; and were, besides, not very fruitful. The sovereign of this district, at that time *Vira Martanda Pala*, was uncle to the present king *Rama Varmer*. He was a man of great pride, courage and talents; capable of undertaking grand enterprises, and from his youth had been accustomed to warlike operations. As he had concluded an alliance with the king of *Madura*, it needs excite no wonder, that, agreeably to his character, he should conceive the idea of making conquests, and of enlarging his unproductive dominions by the acquisition of new provinces. For this purpose he crossed the river *Palur* in the year 1764; fought a decisive battle with king *Ciangaceri*, and, having entirely subdued him, laid waste his territories with fire and sword; caused all the palaces, and even some of the Pagan temples, to be demolished; and took prisoners the neighbouring petty princes. The latter had been called in by *Ciangaceri* to his assistance; but they were at open variance with each other, and too much occupied with their own feuds to unite in one common cause against *Vira Martanda Pala*, who advanced to *Aircutti*, which is only three leagues distant towards

" the south from Cochin. His commander in chief,
 " *Martandapulla*, laid siege to the place, and con-
 " tinued his conquests, which were completed by M.
 " Eustatius de Lanoy, with whom I formed an ac-
 " quaintance at *Curriapalli* in the year 1777. He
 " drove *Samuri* on the other side of the river from
 " *Alangatta* and *Codungalur*; assigned a small spot to
 " the king of Cochin for his support; made himself
 " master of all the fortresses; put the king's troops
 " on the same footing as the European; divided among
 " them the conquered lands; caused them frequently
 " to march through the country with full military
 " parade, in order to keep the people in subjection to
 " their rulers; and after *Vira Martanda's* death, gave
 " the kingdom, in which perfect tranquillity was now
 " restored, to the present sovereign *Rama Varmer*,
 " who had just entered the twenty-fourth year of his
 " age. Thus ended the dominion of the petty Malabar
 " sovereigns and princes: thus was humanity avenged;
 " and thus were the crimes punished, and the licenti-
 " ousness suppressed, by which this country had been
 " distracted ever since the tenth century.

" Of a great part of the above events I was myself
 " an eye-witness: the account given of the rest is
 " taken from the information of persons worthy of
 " credit, and in particular from the valuable manu-
 " scripts of Father Cruz Fernandez, a Malabar priest,
 " which contain a minute relation of the war carried
 " on by *Vira Martanda Pala*. I had an opportunity
 " also of consulting a great many original documents,
 " quoted in this work, which were preserved among
 " the archives of the missionary establishment at
 " *Verapole*. I conversed likewise on this subject with
 " the present king and his generals *Martandapulla* and
 " M. de Lanoy, who all three often came to *Verapole*,
 " and to whom we were indebted, besides other marks
 " of kindness, for freeing our convent, church, and
 " surrounding district, from the payment of all taxes."

In fine, the writer of this history feels proud that

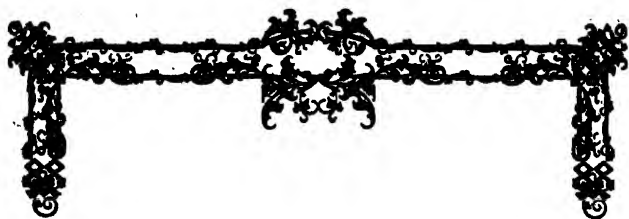
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his accounts and observations are fully corroborated by the recorded opinions of Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, the late Dewan of Travancore, who, as the head of the administration for many years had the opportunity of ascertaining every fact connected with the kingdom of Travancore and its internal administration, both from records and from enquiries. This able native knight, who is widely known, has undertaken the work of writing a History of Travancore, and the opinion given by him about this sovereign, as published in the Malayalam translation of his unpublished work, may be here quoted as fully corroborating the writer's observations regarding one of the greatest of Travancore's kings.

"The Maha Rajah whose reign has been brought to a close is certainly one of the most remarkable figures in the history of Travancore. He came to the throne while yet young, and amid difficulties and dangers. He inherited a small territory, full of anarchy and disorder. In the earlier days of his rule, his life was often exposed to the hand of the assassin. He had to wander in disguise and narrowly escaped violent death. But his energy and decision enabled him to establish internal tranquillity. His sagacity felt no difficulty in selecting the most efficient instruments for carrying on the administration. His ambition and enterprising spirit led him to extend his dominions almost to the present limits of Travancore. His wisdom and moderation made it easy for him to consolidate his conquests and to endear himself to his subjects. Barring some of the early acts of his reign, which were dictated by the stern necessities of a struggle for existence, he was undoubtedly a just and humane ruler. He considerably rewarded those who had assisted him in his adversity. His benevolence was unbounded, though of course it flowed in the channels which the Hindu Shastres prescribed or the Hindu public admired. It was that very benevolence that induced him to exact the practice of it from others. Tradition

"relates that he in disguise solicited alms from a rich
 "niggard subject and on being rudely refused, the dis-
 "gusted sovereign confiscated the miser's accumulated
 "hoards and dedicated them to the support of a charit-
 "able foundation for the benefit of the neighbouring
 "poor. It was that very benevolence that induced
 "a life of frugality and abstemiousness as a means
 "of increasing the resources to be employed in the
 "exercise of that virtue. The Maha Rajah was far from
 "indulging in that magnificence which is the charac-
 "teristic of Courts oriental. His tastes were simple.
 "His dress and equipages were almost primitive; his
 "mansions displayed no great architectural splendour;
 "and his court and all that appertained to it showed
 "that what was useful was decidedly preferred to what
 "was showy or gorgeous. He was so intensely pious
 "that he may be regarded as a religious devotee in
 "the purple. Yet he by no means neglected the
 "numerous and daily duties which sovereign power
 "devolved on him. These he got through with
 "application and despatch. It is said that, on the
 "occasion of an audience given to two ambassadors
 "from a neighbouring State, one of them began a
 "long harangue which the other was preparing to
 "continue. "Be not tedious" said the Maha Rajah
 "with an austere brow, "life is short." The most
 "memorable feature of his reign was the uniform and
 "unvarying good fortune that attended him in all his
 "enterprises for the benefit of his country; a good
 "fortune which the orthodox Hindu of the period
 "fondly ascribed to the sincerity of the incessant
 "protection accorded to temples, Brahmins, women
 "and cows."





CHAPTER III.

SREE PADMANABHA DASA VANJI PALA RAMA VURMAH KULASE-
KHARA KIRENTAPATHI MUNNAY SULTAN MAHARAJ RAJAH
RAMARAJAH RAHADUR SHAMSHEREJUNG MAHARAJAH.

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HIS Highness Rama Vurmah was the late Maha Rajah's nephew and heir apparent to the musnud. He succeeded his uncle when he was 34 years of age. His Highness had been trained and brought up by his uncle so that he should leave behind him one worthy to be his successor. This training, together with the extraordinary talents which nature had bountifully bestowed upon him, made the new sovereign's character remarkable in his exalted position. Having been closely attached to his uncle from his boyhood, and having taken great interest in the administration of the country, His Highness was quite in his element in his new sphere, and found no difficulty, in carrying on with firmness, the system of Government established by his uncle, and in conducting it on the principles, rules and regulations already adopted and introduced.

These rules and regulations had not been fully established in the newly acquired territories in the north, and therefore, His Highness inaugurated his reign by adopting measures for that purpose. He next turned his attention to the further improvement and remodeling of the forces, training and disciplining additional men under various denominations, and bringing the Travancore army to an equal footing with that of the Carnatic Nabob and the English, of whose forces the Maha Rajah was a particular admirer.



RAMA VURMAH MAHA RAJAH.

Sepoy regiments, Pattan or Mogul battalions, Sikh and Rajput battalions, artillery and cavalry regiments, and artificers, consisting of all castes of volunteers, which were organized in the late reign, were now furnished with new accoutrements and arms. The garrisons between Thovalay and Kuriapilly were increased.

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The revenue and judicial administration of the kingdom was improved. The acting Dalawah, Iyeppen Marthanda Pillay Valia Sarvadhikariakar was confirmed in his appointment, and the position of a number of efficient and select officers, who were holding various appointments under the deceased sovereign, were improved by their promotion to responsible and more important offices, and the entire system of administration was again improved and re-modelled, without materially violating the principles of the late Government.

The whole kingdom was made into three divisions,* viz., Vadakaymukham (northern division), Padijraymukham (western division), and Theckaymukham (southern division); each of these divisions was placed under the control and supervision of a Valia Sarvadhikariakar, and these again were subdivided and placed under Sarvadhikariakars, and the same were again made into districts, and over each of the districts a Kariakar was appointed. The districts were, moreover, subdivided into Maniums, Kelvies, Adhikarems, and

* Under the Dalawah or Dewan, there is a chain of officers, all dependant on each other in regular gradation for the management of the revenue and all other affairs of Government; thus the whole country is parcelled out into a certain number of grand divisions over each of which a principal officer termed Valia Sarvadhikariakar presides and his authority extends to all matters of a revenue, commercial and judicial nature. These great portions of the country are again divided into a certain number of parts, each under the secondary controlling management of a Sarvadhikariakar and these again are subdivided into districts, under the management of a Kariakar, who has a residency in certain principal place in his district. Other officers termed Proverticars are the last in gradation among the managing officers of respectability; but under them again there are several inferior officers called Chundracars, Toracars and Villacars or Feons, who have each a distinct and separate office. Besides the above, there

CHAP. III. Proverthies and placed under charge of Manikarens, Adhikaries and Proverthicars. All these officers had a staff of sub-officials such as writers, accountants, rayasoms, peons, &c.

The Zamorin of Calicut, who still retained possession of the Cochin Rajah's northern frontiers from Trichoor down to the south, up to the fine tributary districts of Paravoor and Alangaud, threatened further encroachment on the Cochin principality; consequently, the Cochin Rajah sent his minister, Paliathu Menon, to Trevandrum and applied for assistance to drive away the Calicut Rajah and recover the lost territory. He promised to pay every expense attending the march of an army for that purpose, and to relinquish for ever the rights and claims of Cochin upon the Karapuram territories, and offered to cede the tributary Districts of Paravoor and Alangaud, with all the privileges enjoyed by the Cochin Rajah in those Districts. It was added that should Travancore succeed in taking from the Zamorin any territories beyond those which he had wrested from the Rajah, such acquisitions should exclusively belong to the Maha Rajah himself. The Maha Rajah acceded to this proposal, and His Highness the Rajah of Cochin repaired to Trevandrum in Dhanu 937 (1685 A.D.) and entered into a new treaty, embodying all the above particulars, and renewing the substance

is an officer appointed in each of the three great divisions who is entitled the *Maluvejarippooocar* and the nature of his office is partly judicial; but in what particular cases his interference is required I have not learned. Each of the principal officers named above has an office establishment of writers, &c., for keeping the accounts of his Cutcherry. The head writer in the Cutcherry of the Kariakar is entitled *Theroomukompedecha Pillay* and all those inferior officers, Pillays. "Lieutenant Arthur's Report," page 16.

"He keeps two *Valia Sarvadicchiarer*, the *Vadaku-mugham* and the *Tebmugham*, one of whom is established in the north and the other in the south. Each of these has under him four other officers, called only *Sarvadicchiarer*. These have inspection over four subalterns or *Carliadar*; and these subalterns have under them *Praverthiarer*, *Ciandrarer* and *Torracar*; or collectors of the taxes, overseers and judges." Bartholomew's *Voyage to the East Indies*, page 173.



THE RAJAH OF COCHIN.

of the former treaties. This having been ratified on the 12th Dhanu (26th December 1761) the Cochin Rajah returned to his capital. But warned by past experience, the Maha Rajah hesitated to place full confidence in the Cochin chief, and delayed to take action against the Zamorin, whereupon the Cochin Rajah sent his nephew, Rohani Thirunal, the Cochin Veera Kerala Vurmah Rajah to Trevandrum, and made the conditions of the treaty still more binding upon himself. For this purpose, the Rajah proceeded to the most sacred and renowned pagoda of Sucheendrum, and made a solemn declaration, before the deity, swearing perpetual alliance with Travancore in the following terms :—

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Translation of a solemn declaration made by the Cochin Rajah at Sucheendrum, on the 25th Karkadagam 987 (1685 A.D.)

" We, Veera Kerala Vurmah Rajah, born under the Star Rohanee of the Perimpadapu Swaroopam, declare in the presence of Sthanu Moorthy, deity of Sucheendrum, that neither we, nor our heirs, will do, or cause to be done, any act against Sree Padmanabha Dasa Vanji Pala Rama Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal Rajah of the Tripappoor Swaroopam, born under the Star Kartiga, or against his heirs. We will not join with those who are his enemies, neither will we correspond with them. Truly resolved and solemnly declared upon the feet of Sthanu Moorthy."

This declaration was in the hand-writing of Powathy Ambady (the Cochin Rajah's recorder).

His Highness the Maha Rajah then directed his prime minister, Iyeppen Marthanda Pillay, to proceed with an army to the north, under the command of General D'Lanoy.

The Dalawah accordingly set out at once, and after him marched a large force which, on reaching Paravoor, drove away the Calicut Rajah's garrison stationed there. The army was then divided into two

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divisions, one under the direct command of the Dalawah, and the other under General D'Lanoy. The division of the army led by the Dalawah proceeded to Trichoor by Karoopadanay, while the other, under General D'Lanoy, marched towards Chowghaut and commenced the attack upon that place. Though the Calicut Rajah's force resisted obstinately for a time, still it was no match to General D'Lanoy's disciplined army and it was therefore compelled to retreat.

General D'Lanoy pursued the retreating force, taking prisoners and killing those who resisted, and by the time D'Lanoy reached Trichoor, he had the satisfaction of seeing Iyeppen Marthanda Pillay sole master of Trichoor; the Zamorin Rajah and the Trichoor garrison having retreated, after a great struggle with the Dalawah's force encamped at Chalakaray.

The divided force, after forming a junction, marched to the north, driving the Calicut Rajah's army from its stronghold at Chalakaray and pursuing it as far as Kakadu, and while the Dalawah contemplated marching to Calicut to attack the Zamorin's capital, that chief sent an express messenger to Trevandrum and sued for peace. The wise Maha Rajah of Travancore accepted the offer and directed the minister's return. This policy of the Maha Rajah appears to have been apparently founded upon the consideration that the Calicut Rajah had given no offence or provocation to Travancore in the present instance, and the only duty Travancore was bound to perform was to drive off the Zamorin and his forces from the Cochin Rajah's territories. The Zamorin subsequently came to Padmanabhapuram to meet the Maha Rajah in the same year 938, and a treaty of alliance was entered into on the 26th Edavem 938 (1763 A.D.) by which the Zamorin agreed to indemnify the Maha Rajah for the expenses of the war, by paying the moderate sum of one-hundred and fifty-thousand rupees, promising at the same time perpetual friendship and fidelity. This treaty efficiently protected the interests of the Cochin

State by providing that it was to be left unmolested by its ancient enemy, and that any disputes that might arise between it and the Zamorin, should find a peaceful solution by the friendly and impartial mediation of Travancore.

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After stationing a strong garrison at Chalakaray, at the expense of the Cochin Rajah, under the command of a European officer, the Dalawah and the General returned with the force to Paravoor, detaching at the same time other portions of the army to Trichoor and to different places in the Cochin country, to defend those territories against any further molestations from the Calicut Rajah.

The Dalawah on his arrival at Paravoor assumed formal possession of the petty States of Paravoor and Alangaud, not only in virtue of the Cochin Rajah's treaty, but also on the more powerful ground of his having taken them from the hands of the Zamorin after driving him away from those localities. He also made arrangements for collecting the revenue of those States. As the Dalawah had observed every one of the conditions of the Cochin Rajah's treaty, and that Rajah was highly pleased with his heroic conduct, he gave him the grant of a village called Puthencheray, but the Dalawah very nobly and honestly annexed the said village to Travancore and made the same a Proverthy under the Alangaud district.

The Maha Rajah had it in contemplation to construct a barrier at the northern frontier, like the one erected at Aramboly, between the sea and the hills, during the late reign, and as the northern frontier of Travancore was now extended to Kanjerapulay (Oranganoor bar) the construction of a barrier between the Dutch settlement at Palliport and the eastern range of high hills was considered imperatively necessary, in order to prevent the advance of enemies into the Travancore territories, especially at this time, when Hyder Ali Khan's power was rising in the north and when he entertained no friendly feelings towards Travancore.

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The Maha Rajah repaired to Annamanaday, a famous Brahman village near the northern frontier, the sovereignty of which rested with the Zamorin, but had been transferred to Travancore by recent arrangements. After a personal inspection, in conjunction with Iyeppen Marthanda Pillay, Dalawah, and General D' Lanoy, both of whom were at Paravoor after their victorious return from the north, the Maha Rajah commissioned those two able officers to superintend the construction of the frontier fortifications and returned to Trevandrum. The Maha Rajah had also a conference with the Rajah of Cochin at Annamanaday, as many parts of the said barrier had to pass through that chief's territories and obtained the cession of the lands necessary for carrying on the work alluded to.

The chief motive which influenced the Maha Rajah to hasten on the completion of such a precautionary measure was the visit of Hyder Ali Khan to North Malabar, and the probability of that Mussulman chief's progress towards the south. The apprehensions of the Maha Rajah were not altogether groundless, as subsequent events showed.

The Dalawah and the General consulted together and devised the plan of the fortification, and after tracing out a line from Kuriapilly on the southern bank of the Cranganoor bar, to the east up to the chain of hills to a distance of about thirty miles, the work was commenced at once. A strong fort of laterite was built at Kuriapilly, and from that a mud wall, 20 feet thick and 12 feet high, ran to the east having stone batteries and bastions at intervals and also small forts at certain localities adjoining the barrier. On the left side of the barrier, a ditch measuring 16 feet broad and 20 feet deep was dug, while on the right a road of similar breadth and on a good level was opened. On the side of the ditch close to the wall, bamboo and other thorny shrubs were planted.

This was called Nedumcottah or Vittiacottah, the traces or rather the ruins of which are still seen extending from the fort at Kuriapilly in the west, to the foot of the ghauts in the east. CHAP.
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General D'Lanoy was stationed at Paravoor in command of the force and the several garrisons stationed both at the new fortifications and in the Cochin Sircar's territories, as well as on the Travancore frontier.

General D'Lanoy adopted a most effective measure, by causing military detachments to march frequently through the country in full military parade, in order to keep the people in subjection to the rulers. All the lawless characters in the northern parts of the Cochin territories were kept in great awe by the movements of this great General.

While General D'Lanoy was thus employed at Paravoor, Marthanda Pillay Dalawah was engaged in establishing the Travancore laws and regulations in the districts of Alangaud and Paravoor. He then returned to Trevandrum, and on his way encamped at a place called Krishnapuram. This place he found well suited for a military station and so he set to work to erect a fortress with strong mud walls, and to build magazines and other military stores near the palace constructed there during the former reign. The residence of the sovereign was improved in a becoming style, and a public road from Quilon to the north via Krishnapuram to Poracaud was opened, and a causeway through the marsh between Aripaud and Poracaud raised with several bridges at different places over rivers and canals. On his return from Krishnapuram, he ordered the clearing of a piece of waste land east of Neendacaray, and planted thereon cocoanut and other fruit trees. This was converted into a Government garden called Dalawapuram. On the Dalawah's arrival at Varkalay, he improved that town, and had twenty-four houses built there. All of them were given as gifts and grants to Brahmans under the authority of the sovereign, and thus the place was

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raised from its obscurity into a populous and important town.

Maphuz Khan Sahib, the Governor of the Pandyan empire, under the Carnatic Nabob, who was stationed at Trichinopoly, rebelled against his master and made a descent on Kalacaud, the eastern possession of the Maha Rajah, at the western frontier of Tinnevely. He attacked the Travancore garrison stationed there and drove them into the Aramboly lines, following them up with the Khan's forces. The Maha Rajah hearing this, ordered one of his native commandants named Thamby Kumaren Chempaka Ramen Pillay, who was then stationed at Trevandrum, to march with his force to meet the invading army. He started at once and the battle which took place when this worthy warrior met the enemy was so severe and decisive, that the Mahomedan chief was obliged to beat a retreat from the Aramboly lines; but the Khan not only retained possession of Kalacaud, but assumed possession of the district of Shencottah and all the other eastern districts belonging to Travancore.

The Maha Rajah represented this matter to the Nabob, who was already so seriously displeased with the Khan, on account of his disobedient and refractory conduct, that he had it in contemplation to appoint a new Governor in the room of Maphuz Khan. A very able man named Yusuff Khan was appointed and sent as successor to the rebellious Maphuz Khan.

Yusuff Khan on coming to Trichinopoly found it difficult to subdue the refractory Governor and sought the Maha Rajah's assistance. The Carnatic Nabob and the English East India Company at Madras requested His Highness, at the same time, to co-operate with Yusuff Khan in the subjection of the refractory Khan and the Maha Rajah gladly acceded to their wishes.

Five thousand men under the command of Thamby Kumaren Chempaka Ramen, then stationed at Thovaiy were ordered to join Yusuff, and 10,000 men from Quilon were sent through the Ariencavu Pass



VEPPEN MARTHANDA PILLAY DALAWAH.

to Shencottah. Yusuff was now at the head of a powerful army consisting of 20,000 men, which enabled him to drive away the Poligar of Wadakaray, and subsequently Maphuz Khan fled from the position he hitherto held and Yusuff established his power.

As a grateful acknowledgment of the readiness with which the Maha Rajah lent his assistance, Yusuff Khan restored all His Highness' eastern possessions, and Kalacaud again became a part of His Highness' dominions.

The Maha Rajah however did not retain possession of Kalacaud for any lengthened period; for His Highness lost this portion of his territories, under very peculiar circumstances. Yusuff Khan, the Nabob's Governor, in his turn became disobedient to his master and began to endeavour to shake off the Nabob's authority and establish himself as an independent chief; to accomplish this object Yusuff secured aid from the French in India.

In 987 M.E. (1762 A.D.), a joint force of the Nabob and the English was sent against Yusuff, and the Travancore Maha Rajah was also requested to co-operate with this army, which was to take possession of Madura and Tinnevely and capture Yusuff Khan. The Khan had already applied to the Maha Rajah for assistance, offering all the territories west of the town of Tinnevely, including Palamcottah which had once belonged to Travancore, in return for the help His Highness would give him towards the retention of the Pandyan provinces under Yusuff's independent possession; but the wise Maha Rajah declared that whatever may be the prospect of gain before him by aiding Yusuff, His Highness would not go against his old ally the Nabob, and would not take arms against the English.

The Maha Rajah sent a strong force to Trichinopoly to co-operate with the combined force against Yusuff, and that rebel finding that resistance would be of no avail gave himself up and was hanged by the Nabob's order in 1762 A.D.

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Yusuff Khan's successor thought it proper to assume possession of all the countries lying on the eastern side of the ghauts, as belonging to the Pandyan empire, and accordingly not only Kalacaud, but also Shencottah and all the other eastern possessions of Travancore were annexed to the Nabob's dominions.

The Maha Rajah despatched a special messenger, Manik Lalla by name, to Madras, and represented the injustice of the Nabob's officers in unlawfully annexing territories belonging to Travancore, but the Mussulman potentate, intoxicated with his recent victories and the punishment awarded to Yusuff, would not listen to the representations of the Maha Rajah's agent, and His Highness was therefore under the necessity of seeking the mediation of the Governor of Madras, who, though he once confirmed the claims of the Maha Rajah to the districts of Kalacaud and other eastern possessions, now wavered in his opinion. After a good deal of discussion, the Nabob agreed to restore some of the Travancore territories including Shencottah, Cape Comorin, &c.

The Mahomedan chief did not appear to be satisfied with the unlawful annexation of the Kalacaud district, which was the legitimate possession of Travancore from time immemorial, and was recently acquired by purchase from Moodemiah. That purchase was confirmed by two of his successors, the Nabob himself, and by the Honorable East India Company. The Nabob now pressed a demand for the few previous years' revenue on the Kalacaud district.

A settlement was effected by the intercession of the Governor of Madras, Mr. Robert Palk, who, after arranging matters with the Nabob, wrote to His Highness in 1765 A.D. in reply to a communication from the latter, to the effect that the English Company had taken some steps in restraining the victorious Nabob from further hostilities, in putting a check to his demands, and also in advising him to conclude the treaty. For such services Travancore was reminded

of the debt it owed to the Honorable East India Company and the Governor hoped that the Company would be amply rewarded for their assistance. CHAP.
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The sagacious Maha Rajah saw the desirability of adopting the Governor's suggestion and the necessity of entering into a treaty with the Nabob against whom resistance was at that critical period almost impossible.

The principal conditions of the treaty with the Nabob were, that Travancore should renounce all claims to the Kalacaud district; that His Highness should increase the tribute to 15,000 rupees; that he should pay two lacs of rupees in liquidation of some pretended demands on the Maha Rajah in connection with the Kalacaud district; that he should never assist any of the Poligars against the Nabob; that the Maha Rajah should assist the Nabob with an army in his war against Madura and Tinnevely; and that the Nabob should assist Travancore against all her enemies foreign as well as internal.

It is necessary to mention here that Pala Rama Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal, the Maha Rajah of whom we are now speaking, had when His Highness was Elia Rajah, taken a warm interest in a young man and brought him up under his own patronage, training him for the public service, just in the same way as his uncle had brought up Rama Iyen, Dalawah.

This fortunate youth, whose name was Ramen Kasaven or Kasava Pillay, gradually grew up under His Highness' paternal care and support and became a most intelligent and deserving man.

When about twenty-four years of age, Kasava Pillay was appointed as a rayasom (writer) in the palace under the Samprathy (the State Secretary). He now became most influential and proved himself a highly efficient State servant, so much so, that His Highness' secretary as well as the prime minister, used to consult him and seek his advice on questions of the greatest importance.

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Kasava Pillay was much attached to D'Lanoy and to several Mussulman and Pattan officers in the military service. He was trained in the military art and was competent to command a whole brigade in times of emergency. He learnt the Dutch and Portuguese languages under General D'Lanoy and the Persian and Hindustani under the Pattan officers.

At this period, the Maha Rajah sought for, and procured a Portuguese, by name M. Pedro da Veigas, and appointed him the king's interpreter and State clerk. A Persian moonshee was entertained and one or two able Hindustani writers of the Lalla caste (Rajputs) were also employed under His Highness.

Kasava Pillay was specially entrusted with the management and supervision of commercial affairs and a regular correspondence was opened and kept up with the Dutch and the English East India Company, established then at Cochin and Anjengo respectively. The former had their commercial factories at Poracaud and Colachel, while the latter had a flourishing trade at Anjengo.

As usual, pepper, cassia, cinnamon and other articles of which the Sircar had the monopoly, were sold to these allies, and in return, iron, copper, sugar, arms and ammunition were purchased from them.

General D'Lanoy's iron foundry at Udayagherry continued in full working order and supplied cannon, balls, &c., &c.

By the long continued intercourse with the Dutch and the English, supplies of arms, accoutrements and other military articles were secured and stored in abundance, while the Government of the Nabob of the Carnatic furnished swords, shields, lances and other Indian arms. The whole army of the Maha Rajah was now remodelled and brought into a state of greater efficiency in respect to their dress and arms. The number of European officers in the military service was also increased.

In 988 M.E. (1763 A.D.), soon after his victorious return from the north, Iyeppen Marthanda Pillay Dalawah died, and he was succeeded by Varkalay Subba Iyen (a native Brahman of Travancore) in 989 M.E. (1764 A.D.), who commenced a career which appeared to be as full of promise as that of his predecessor, and His Highness placed great confidence in his ability and integrity. CHAP.
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In this year, 989 M.E. (1764 A.D.), this able Dalawah persuaded the Rajah of Paravoor to resign formally his sovereign rights in the Paravoor State in favor of Travancore and retire on a pension. Accordingly, the Rajah signed an agreement, by which he gave up entirely his sovereign rights to Travancore, and accepted a family pension.

Subba Iyen Dalawah then made a similar proposal to the Alangaud Rajah, who, though he hesitated to part with his sovereign rights at first, signed an agreement, like his neighbour the Paravoor Rajah, and accepted a family pension.

Thus Subba Iyen Dalawah finally completed the work most energetically commenced by the late Rama Iyen Dalawah. The defensive works commenced by the late prime minister Marthanda Pillay were finally completed by this able Dalawah Subba Iyen. Many other useful works were also undertaken and completed during Subba Iyen's administration.

About this time, 941 M.E. (1766 A.D.), Hyder Ali Khan of Mysore invaded and took possession of all the northern countries of Malabar, and the opposition of several Nair chiefs and the resistance of the Zamorin of Calicut having proved ineffectual to check his rapid progress, the Zamorin committed suicide by burning himself with some of his relations and courtiers in his own palace. Hyder took possession of all the petty States, as well as the whole of the Zamorin's dominions, and thus became master of the country between Cannanore and Ponnany.

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The Cochin Rajah, fearing the approach of Hyder Ali, offered his allegiance and paid a sum of two lacs of rupees and eight elephants, binding himself at the same time to be a tributary to the Mysore chief.

Having thus humiliated the Cochin Rajah, Hyder directed his attention to Travancore, but the Dutch who were friendly both to Hyder and Travancore, had established themselves at the very northern frontier of Travancore, and thus proved a barrier to Hyder's progress. On this, Hyder wanted the Travancore Maha Rajah to follow the Cochin Rajah's example and pay fifteen lacs of rupees and thirty trained elephants.

To neither of these proposals did the Maha Rajah accede, but made Hyder to understand that the Travancore sovereign was already a tributary of the Carnatic Nabob and had besides formed an alliance with the Honorable East India Company.

Hyder having allowed sufficient time for the Maha Rajah, through the medium of the Dutch, to consider the proposal, returned to Mysore, and the Maha Rajah informed the Governor of Madras and the Nabob of the Carnatic of what had occurred.

At the same time General D'Lanoy and Subba Iyen Dalawah were ordered to the north to fortify the barrier, strengthen the several garrisons, and replenish the magazines with fresh ammunition in order to meet any emergency. The Dalawah, and the General made all the necessary arrangements and the Dutch also rendered assistance.

In the meanwhile the meritorious Dalawah Subba Iyen's labors were terminated by his death, which occurred in the year 943 M.E. (1768 A.D.). Gopala Iyen (a Travancore Brahman,) was appointed Dalawah; but having been found unequal to the work, he was simply allowed to retain his office, and the able Commandant, Thamby Chempaka Ramen Pillay, was appointed Valia Sarvadhikariakar or deputy prime minister to conduct the duties of Dalawah. Kasava Pillay was appointed palace Samprathy or State Secretary.

The appointment of these well known able men afforded general satisfaction as they were particularly fitted for the posts. CHAP.
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The Maha Rajah was pleased to find that the frontier fortifications, with which the late Dalawah had been engaged, were very satisfactorily completed under the joint supervision of these officers.

The strength of these fortifications which cost several lacs of rupees during a period of nearly three years was fully tested by subsequent events.

The arrogance and tyranny of Hyder Ali had received an effective check from a superior power, for about this time he had the mortification, for the first time in his career, of being defeated by the East India Company's soldiers in several engagements with them. This sobered him and convinced him that he was not supreme in India and that there was a power mightier than his own to the will of which it was expedient and necessary that he should bow.

Hyder unhesitatingly sued for peace and a treaty was concluded at Madras with the Honorable East India Company in 1769, in which ample and special provisions were secured by the Company for the future safety of the kingdom of Travancore from the tyrannical hands of Hyder Ali Khan.

The Madras Government communicated to the Maha Rajah this pleasing intelligence, which no doubt relieved His Highness of a good deal of uneasiness. But still, the Maha Rajah being wise and far-seeing did not rest satisfied with these results, as His Highness knew well the ambitious and faithless character of Hyder Ali Khan.

The Maha Rajah considered it necessary to depute an officer to the Court of Mysore to be stationed there to watch the further movements of Hyder, and this was viewed by the latter in no unfriendly light. An

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officer under the designation of sthanapathy* (ambassador) was appointed and sent to Mysore. The Maha Rajah had also such "sthanapathies" stationed in the Carnatic Nabob's Court, in the Cochin and Zamorin Rajah's Courts, as well as in Tinnevely and Madura.

His Highness subsequently proceeded to the north, and arrangements were made with the Dutch East India Company and with the Cochin Rajah, to combine their armies and render assistance to the Travancore force stationed at the northern barrier, in case of Hyder violating the conditions of his treaty with the Honorable East India Company.

These arrangements were initiated during the administration of the able Valia Sarvadhikariakar Thamby Kumaren Chempaka Ramen Pillay, assisted by Samprathy Kasava Pillay, but in the course of two years Valia Sarvadhikariakar died and was succeeded by an equally able man, Mallen Chempaka Ramen Pillay (a Sudra native of Travancore,) who was then holding the post of a Sarvadhikariakar. Valia Sarvadhikariakar conducted the administration as efficiently and satisfactorily as many of his predecessors had done.

Mallen Chempaka Ramen Pillay, Valia Sarvadhikariakar, obtained His Highness' permission soon after his appointment, to commence the survey of the whole kingdom. In the year 948 M.E. (1773 A.D.), the survey was completed, a clear assessment was made, and registry given to the ryots accordingly for lands and gardens throughout the whole kingdom from Thovalay to Paravoor. Thus was a second survey of all the lands and gardens made in Travancore. A new town and village were established at Parachalay, a few miles south-east of Neyattinkaray, bordering the road, and a charitable institution (ootupurah) was opened there. The road between Trevandrum and Padmanabhiapuram was widened and repaired.

* Descendants of such sthanapathies appear to still exist in Travancore and are in the service.

In 955 M.E. (1781 A.D.), Gopala Iyen the nominal Dalawah died, and the Valia Sarvadhikariakar, Mallen Chempaka Ramen Pillay, was appointed to the vacant office of Dalawah, but unfortunately, he did not hold the office long, for he died a year afterwards, 956 M.E. (1781 A.D.)

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One Vadeveeswaram Subrahmanian who succeeded Mullen Chempaka Ramen Pillay, died the year after he was appointed and Nagercoil Rama Iyen succeeded him. He was Dalawah for a period of about six years; but he as well as his predecessor (native Brahmans of Travancore) held the office nominally; for the administration was conducted by the then deputy minister Valiasarvadhi one Chempaka Ramen Pillay (a native Sudra of Travancore). This able officer also followed the example of Mullen Chempaka Ramen Pillay Dalawah, for in the course of his first year of office, he commenced many useful projects the foremost of which was a most important irrigation work, an anicut (granite stone dam) across the Kodayar, with the view of irrigating a large tract of waste land. This though not completed, certainly shows that he was a man of considerable ability and spirit. The unfinished granite works are still to be seen.

In 949 M.E. (1774 A.D.), Hyder Ali again entered the province of Malabar, and began to commit devastations. The then Zamorin of Calicut fled from his country, together with all his relations and dependants, and placed himself under the Maha Rajah's protection.

On hearing of the Zamorin's flight to Travancore, Hyder became enraged and commenced his march towards that country; but as on the previous occasion, the Dutch East India Company stood in the way, and objected to his marching through their territories.

Hyder Ali remonstrated with the Dutch and threatened to force an entrance. The Dutch declared that they could not give the Mussulman chief a free passage through their possessions without special permission from Batavia, and at the same time they communicated

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with the Maha Rajah and asked him if he was prepared to join them in offensive operations against Hyder. His Highness replied that the conditions of the treaty of Madras, precludes his joining the Dutch in any such operations, without the knowledge and permission of the Nabob and the English. His Highness added that he had already adopted measures for the protection of his frontiers, and for that purpose only he would willingly join them.

Hyder had therefore to seek a route by the Cochin Rajah's country. He ordered a large army, under the command of one of his Sirdars, to proceed through Trichoor. The Cochin Rajah not being protected by the late Madras treaty (as he was then an ally of the Dutch Company and not a dependant of the English), acknowledged his vassalage to Hyder, paid an additional sum of four lacs of rupees and four elephants and bound himself to pay an annual tribute of one and a half lacs of rupees.

The Maha Rajah, on hearing this, set to work with his army in conjunction with that of the Dutch, and strongly resisted the progress of Hyder's force through the Dutch frontier.

General D'Lanoy's health failed at this juncture, and consequently the Valia Sarvadhikariakar, samprathy Kasava Pillay, and the several able commandants of His Highness' army were the persons principally engaged on this occasion.

Intimation of the unwarrantable proceedings of Hyder Ali Khan was given by the Maha Rajah to the Governor of Madras, as also to the Bombay and Bengal Governments, and a general war against Hyder resulted.

The Maha Rajah was asked by the Government of the Honorable East India Company to co-operate with the Company's army and His Highness most willingly consented to do so entailing thereby great loss of money and life.

The war was continued by the East India Company and the Maha Rajah assisted them to the extent that lay in his power. Travancore regiments of infantry and cavalry placed at the disposal of divisional Commanders of the Company were taken to distant places, such as Calicut, Palghaut, Tinnevely, &c., &c., and they were "universally allowed to have behaved remarkably well."

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After strongly fortifying the northern and eastern frontiers of Travancore, the Maha Rajah sent a portion of his army under able officers to the north, to co-operate with the Bombay army, under Major Abington at Calicut. His Highness' troops were engaged in the war and were successful in their united actions. Another portion of the Travancore army which was despatched to co-operate with the British army in Tinnevely against Hyder, was stationed at that town for a period of two years.

The following abstracts of letters addressed to the Maha Rajah by the various officers commanding the English forces at the time of the war establish the accuracy of the above facts.

Abstract of the letter of Major Abington, Commander of the Bombay detachment at Calicut :

"Your Highness is embarked in the same cause with us and the rest of the Malabars and already too far engaged to observe a neutral conduct any longer. The only safe way is now to exert every means to shut the door against the enemy and Your Highness is sensible that that cannot be effected while the passes of Canom are left open and Palghautcherry in their possession. It might be easily reduced, and I am informed, that a number of Your Highness' troops are now lying inactive at Paravoor. Two thousand sepoys acting with vigour, in junction with the Zamorin Nairs and the people, I have already sent to the southward will be more than sufficient for this purpose. The Zamorin Nairs in particular will then act with great spirit when they are backed by Your Highness' troops

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and when they are assured that no means in any power will be neglected to support and assist them."

Abstract of a letter from Colonel Humburstone:—
"I am well informed how steady and sincere an ally Your Majesty has ever been to the English nation."

Abstract of a letter from Colonel Fullerton, the English General, who commanded the southern countries:—"I will relate to the Governor in Council the great friendship you have shewn and the services you have rendered to the English interests in general and to the army that I commanded in particular."

This war continued for several years, and in the interval Hyder Ali died in 957 M.E. (1782 A.D.), and his son Tippoo succeeded him, and for a couple of years matters were in *statu quo*.

During this war, General D'Lanoy fell ill at Udayagherry and died in the year 952 M.E. (1777 A.D.), deeply lamented by the Maha Rajah and the whole military of Travancore, while his loss was universally felt in the country. He may be called the founder of European discipline in the Travancore army, and to his genius the country was indebted for most of the granite forts between Thovalay and Paravoor. He had been a hero in the reigns of the late Maha Rajah Marthanda Vurmah, and this Maha Rajah died in the service leaving behind him an imperishable and brilliant renown. He was buried with military pomp in the church in the fort of Udayagherry, constructed under his own superintendence. The Maha Rajah very gratefully ordered the following inscription which is still to be seen to be engraved on his tomb:—
"Hic jacet Eustathius Benedictus de Lannoy qui
"tanquam dux generalis militiæ Travancotidis præfuit
"ac per annos XXXVII fermi summâ felicitate regi
"inservit cui omnia regna ex Caiamcolum usque
"ad Cochin vi armarum ac terrore subject. Vixit
"annos LXII menses V et mortuus est die 1 Junni
"MDCOLXXXVII.

Requiescat in pace."

In the year 959 M.E. (1784 A.D.) a fresh treaty was concluded by the Mysore chief with the Honorable East India Company at Mangalore, when all hostilities ceased; in this treaty too, the Company secured sufficient guarantees for the protection of Travancore from the invasions of the tiger of Mysore.

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The Commissioners, Messrs. Staunton and Huddleston, landed at Anjengo on the 22nd March 1784 on their way to Madras, after concluding the treaty of Mangalore. They addressed the following letter to the Maha Rajah.

"Being on our return to Madras from Mangalore and finding ourselves near the place of your residence, we do ourselves the honor to inform you that peace between the Honorable East India Company and Tippoo Sultan was concluded and signed on the 11th instant near Mangalore. The Company did not on this occasion forget your fidelity and the steady friendship and attachment you have uniformly shown them in every situation and under every change of fortune. You are expressly named and included in the treaty as their friend and ally; and as such we can assure you on the part of the Company that your interests and welfare will always be considered as protected as their own."

The Maha Rajah on receiving the above favorable intelligence from the Madras Government and the Commissioners engaged in drawing out the treaty, was relieved of a good deal of anxiety. Though conscious, from past experience, of the worthlessness of the Sultan's professions, still he hoped for rest, at least for some time, and freed from the annoyances of this tyrannical chief he wished to look after the internal affairs of his kingdom.

In the year 959 M.E. (1784 A.D.) His Highness the Maha Rajah, partly to perform a religious ceremony and partly to satisfy his curiosity to see some other parts of the country in the east and south of Travancore, proposed making a pilgrimage to Rama-

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swaram and seeing the districts of Tinnevelly and Madura on his way to and from that renowned resort of Hindu pilgrims.

But before starting from Trevandrum on this pilgrimage, His Highness had to take the precaution of effecting some arrangements through the means of His Highness' allies, the English East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The districts through which His Highness had to travel to Ramaswaram, viz., Tinnevelly and Madura, though subject to the sovereignty of the Nabob, were divided and were in the possession of Palayapattacars (Poligars), the majority of whom were rude and lawless chieftains.

His Highness obtained the assistance of a few companies of sepoy of the English East India Company and some responsible officers from the Nabob's Government to escort him to Ramaswaram. With these and a large portion of His Highness' own army and a number of followers, he set out with all the pomp and grandeur, usually attending the movements of Indian sovereigns of the rank and celebrity of the Maha Rajah.

His Highness took great care to inspect and examine all the important irrigation works, roads and bridges, sathrums or choultries built for the comfort and convenience of the public in Tinnevelly and Madura this being the chief object for which he undertook the tour.

His Highness reached Ramaswaram in good health and performed the ablutions and other ceremonies there: and after spending a large sum in ceremonies and charities, returned, taking care to visit every place of note, to his own capital (Trevandrum), quite delighted with all he saw during a very agreeable journey.

His Highness lost no time in turning to account the knowledge of irrigation works, &c., he had acquired during the tour, and introduced improvements in



GRANITE PADDY STORE AT MANACUDY.

several works of this description in the southern districts comprising Nanjenaud, &c. CHAP.
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By this time, His Highness had set aside all unnecessary religious scruples and prejudices usually predominant among high caste Hindus and contracted a habit of free intercourse with Europeans. He made himself perfectly accessible to the resident missionaries of the Roman diocese and to the others who wished to have interviews with him.

His Highness took advantage of the various interpreters employed in his Court and studied the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English languages, and though he did not attain any proficiency therein, he could converse in those languages tolerably well. He spoke fluently the Hindustani and the Persian languages.

Several public roads were opened about Trevandrum, and in order that uninterrupted communication might be secured between the garrisons at Paravoor and Thovalay, the main road between these two places was improved and extended. Several other roads were also constructed for facilitating the marching of troops. The Government unjéll (post) was improved and established on better principles.

The kingdom of Travancore at this time was in a most flourishing condition and the comfort and prosperity of the people were greatly increased. Trade and agricultural pursuits engrossed the attention of the inhabitants, and safety of life and property throughout the country was perfectly ensured. In short, the villages and roads which thieves and plunderers formerly infested and where travellers could hardly move in safety, with any valuables even in the day time, were watched and patrolled by the military so that a banker or trader who brought his money with him could sleep with perfect safety on the public road the whole night. The rule in regard to theft and robbery in those days was that the villagers, watchmen and guardians of each of the villages, should be responsible for the detection of all crimes and should

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always apprehend the criminals with the stolen property; in default of this they were compelled to make restitution to the loser in an equivalent sum.

In 963 M.E. (1788 A.D.), the Dalawah Rama Iyen died and was succeeded by one of the Sarvadhikariakars Krishnen Chempaka Ramen (a Sudra native of Travancore.) This minister was not a very able man; but was selected for the post on the ground of his seniority. He was not quite equal to the duties of Dalawah, and so, Samprathy Kasava Pillay who was the first officer for the post of Dalawah, was appointed Sarvadhikariakar, and entrusted with the actual performance of the functions of the prime minister.

Here, we must observe that though Kasava Pillay was generally acknowledged to be the fittest man for the important post of Prime Minister, though there had been frequent opportunities for promoting him, and though he was a favourite and protégé of the Maha Rajah, still His Highness would not appoint him to the post, simply because such a selection would have been an injustice to Kasava Pillay's seniors in office and a deviation from the established rules. This grand principle must bear strong and clear testimony to the Maha Rajah's impartiality and high sense of justice.

Sarvadhi Kasava Pillay began to distinguish himself in a very remarkable manner. His attention was directed for a long time towards the strengthening of the alliance with the English East India Company, and accordingly he commenced a friendly correspondence with the several English officers in the presidencies and other places in India. The conditions of the commercial treaty with the Anjengo factory, which was then under the Bombay Government were punctually observed and performed.

A few months after Kasava Pillay's appointment to the post of Sarvadhikariakar, His Highness the Maha Rajah took another tour to the northern districts of Travancore, and while at Alwaye he was so delighted with the place principally on account of the



TIPPOO SULTAN.

crystal-like clearness of the water of the river at that season, that His Highness resolved upon remaining there for some time. During His Highness' stay at Alwaye he performed a particular Hindu ceremony called *Yagom* (sacrifice) at an immense expenditure. He bestowed several grants upon Brahmans of note and respectability and distributed valuable presents to educated persons who came to pay their respects to His Highness from Calicut, Palghautocherry and the Cochin Rajah's country. The expense attending His Highness' stay at Alwaye was enormous, but Sarvadhi Kasava Pillay without the least difficulty, managed affairs so economically in regard to the necessary funds, that the Maha Rajah was quite pleased and delighted with the manner in which he performed this important duty. At this time, the Dalawah fell ill and his recovery being doubtful, the Maha Rajah contemplated appointing Kasava Pillay in his place.

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This officer was a man of great ambition. He wished to have a more high sounding name than that of Dalawah, a title which he thought was too antiquated for him. On this point he consulted his English friends and also the Nabob's officers at Madras and came to the resolution of adopting the title of *Dewan* as in the Courts of the Mogul monarchs.

His Highness returned from Alwaye to Mavalikaray and fixed his residence there for the Dassora festival of the year 964 M.E. (1789 A.D.), and the post of Dalawah having then become vacant, Sarvadhi Kasava Pillay as the legitimate claimant for the office, was appointed as the first Dewan on the 8th Kanni 964 (22nd September 1789), the last day of the Dassora festival. Thus was the title of Dewan first introduced into Travancore.

Tippoo, who had been watching with an eagle's eye, the proceedings of the Travancore Court, became jealous of the growing prosperity of the Maha Rajah and of his reputation which had spread throughout the whole of India. He again began to concert measures for bringing Travancore under his sway.

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In the Malabar year 963 (1788 A.D.), he renewed his incursions into the Malayalam territory, his depredations being accompanied with additional violence and cruelty. He proclaimed martial law between Ponnany and Cannanore.

The worst of Tippoo's tyrannical proceedings was that he ordered the conversion of all the Hindus indiscriminately, whether of high or low caste, male or female to the Mussulman faith, and all who objected to acknowledge the prophet were menaced with death.

All the high caste Hindus fled from Malabar : but where could they find shelter ? In the Cochin Rajah's country they could not get an asylum as that potentate was a tributary of the Sultan.

The Hindu portion of the population of Malabar including the royal family of the Zamorin of Calicut, and every one of the opulent Numboories resorted to Travancore and begged for protection at the hands of the Maha Rajah.

The generous Maha Rajah, without the least hesitation or fear of the consequences, stretched his charitable hand of protection to the helpless refugees, and housed and fed them according to the deserts of each family. Many of these families settled in Travancore, and took a pride in becoming naturalized in the country which afforded them protection at a time of necessity.

This noble and generous behaviour of the Maha Rajah offended Tippoo Sultan still more highly, and he sent a message to His Highness through some of his confidential Sirdars, asking the Maha Rajah to order back all the refugees on the ground that they were deserters from his dominions.

The Maha Rajah sent a polite and friendly message in reply, to the effect that His Highness was ready to comply with the wishes of the Sultan, provided the people who had come from the northern countries to reside within His Highness' dominions were willing to

return; for it would be unjust, as well as unlawful, for His Highness to cause them to leave Travancore under compulsion. CHAP.
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This message no doubt displeased the Sultan the more; but concealing his anger, he tried again in soft and persuasive terms to attain his object as he was very desirous to get back and punish certain persons on whom his Sirdars wished to wreak their vengeance. Of these, one Mandayapurathu Ramunny Menon, a Mussulman convert from Vettathnaud called Meeravoonny, ancestor of the present Eloor Mooppen of Varapulay, was the foremost.

Tippoo summoned the Cochin Rajah before him, and his obedient tributary proceeded to Palghautcherry and there paid his homage to his liege lord. The Sultan appears to have found fault with the Rajah for the lateness of his appearance. After accepting the Rajah's apologies, Tippoo advised him to discover some pretext to provoke the Maha Rajah of Travancore to a war. To effect this, the Sultan suggested to his vassal that he should claim the districts of Paravoor and Alangaud, and that on refusal, he should commence hostilities in which he would be strongly assisted by the Mysore army. This proposal embarrassed the Cochin chief, who said that those districts were ceded to Travancore for important assistance given in the defence of his country and that they were ever since in the possession of Travancore. The Sultan, laughing to scorn the timidity of his vassal, told him that he could reduce Travancore in a week; that the Maha Rajah's friendship with the English would avail him nothing; and that the Cochin Rajah would do well to advise the Travancore king to become a vassal of Mysore. Anxious to free himself from such a dangerous superior, the Cochin Rajah readily offered his mediation, promising to put forth every effort to bring matters immediately to an issue; and the Sultan promised to send commissioners to the Maha Rajah with a friendly letter.

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Before the Cochin Rajah could convey the subject of the Sultan's message to the Maha Rajah by a personal interview, His Highness received every particular connected with this conference.

After his return from Palghautcherry, the Cochin chief met the Maha Rajah at Annamanaday in the northern part of his country, where His Highness had proceeded on a tour of inspection of the military stations and conveyed to His Highness the Sultan's pretended friendly message, which was that that potentate was willing to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Maha Rajah; that he, the Sultan, expected the Maha Rajah to pay him a proper tribute at once and make preparations for the treaty; and that Tippoo's messengers are on their way to meet the Maha Rajah with letters and presents. But the Maha Rajah said that he was not prepared to negotiate with Tippoo, without the knowledge and consent of His Highness' allies, the Honorable East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The Maha Rajah, with his usual prudence and faithful attachment to his allies the English, resolved to see no messenger of the Sultan or receive any communication from him, except in the presence of a British officer. His Highness wrote to the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, to depute an officer of integrity and ability to the Maha Rajah's court, with whom His Highness might consult on some important points connected with the Sultan's mission. The Governor was quite delighted with the Maha Rajah's prudence and wisdom and ordered Major Bannerman, then stationed at Palamcottah, to proceed to the Maha Rajah's court with a small detachment under his command.

The messengers Goola Moadien and Dada Row arrived and were received in durbar in the presence of Major Bannerman and every respect was paid to the Sultan's Khareeta, which was read in open court. It ran thus:—"I learn from Rama Vurmah Rajah of

“Cochin that you are a good and a great prince
 “and that you desire to cultivate friendship with our
 “Sircar. As you are wise and well informed it must
 “be manifest to you how advantageous my alliance
 “will be to your interests. My trusty servants, Meer-
 “goolam Moadien and Dada Row, are charged with
 “this letter and will convey to you my present of a
 “dress, some jewels, and a horse. They come to you
 “on a friendly mission and will communicate full par-
 “ticulars.” Notwithstanding all the regard and atten-
 tion shown by the Maha Rajah on the occasion, the
 Sultan’s messengers were far from being pleased, owing
 to the presence of Major Bannerman. The Maha
 Rajah accepted the presents, though reluctantly.

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The messengers were dismissed with suitable pre-
 sents the Maha Rajah promising to send his own
 officers with the reply and return presents to the
 Sultan.

This occurred in the year 964 M.E. (1789 A.D.).
 The Maha Rajah forwarded a very polite answer to
 Tippoo Sultan, conveying His Highness’ thanks for
 the Sultan’s consideration and his proposal for an
 alliance but intimating at the same time, his total in-
 ability to form an alliance, without the knowledge and
 consent of His Highness’ ally, the East India Com-
 pany, under whose support and protection the Maha
 Rajah had placed himself for several years past.
 Several valuable presents accompanied the letter, which
 was sent in charge of His Highness’ Hindustani Inter-
 preter, Chandrabhanu Lalla, and one of the native com-
 mandants of His Highness’ brigade.

True copies, with English translations of the Sul-
 tan’s letter and His Highness’ reply, were forwarded
 to the Governor of Madras, with a solemn assurance
 that what was stated at the commencement of the Sul-
 tan’s letter was incorrect or that it might have arisen
 through a blunder on the part of the Cochin chief.
 Sir Archibald Campbell was quite pleased with His
 Highness’ policy and resolution, as well as, with this

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fresh proof of his true and unfeigned attachment to the Honorable East India Company.

Major Bannerman had also reported all the particulars connected with the interview of the Sultan's messengers. The Governor sent to the Maha Rajah several letters containing the expression of his full approbation and appreciation of His Highness' conduct in this intricate and troublesome affair. The Governor also tendered his valuable advice and counsel to His Highness.

The Maha Rajah's envoys returned from their visit to Tippoo Sultan, who was then near Coimbatore. Though the Sultan received them and the presents with due courtesy, the envoys had still every reason to believe that the Mussulman chief was offended with the tenor of the Maha Rajah's communication. The envoys informed the Maha Rajah that the Sultan was making great preparations for war.

As already stated the Maha Rajah had no confidence in Tippoo and he continued to pay great attention to the strengthening of his fortifications and the increase of his military forces so as to be prepared to meet any emergency.

With the view of ensuring the efficiency of his forces, which lacked the advantage of effective supervision since the death of General D'Lanoy, His Highness thought of placing them under the direction of English officers. He had full confidence in the courage, truthfulness and integrity of Englishmen and was convinced that he could not place his army in better hands than the English East India Company whose friendship had been cultivated in the time of his ancestors and properly and unfeignedly fostered by His Highness' renowned uncle, the late Maha Rajah.

The Maha Rajah wrote to Sir Archibald Campbell and requested four English officers and twelve surgeons from the Honorable East India Company's Army should be placed at the disposal of His Highness'

Government. But that acute politician, while appreciating the confidence reposed in him by the Maha Rajah, a confidence at the time unusual in the case of Indian princes thought this an opportunity to step in with a political object; for he informed His Highness that "the Honorable Company's officers are brave and good men and will always discharge their duty with zeal and ability; but it is contrary to the system now laid down for the management of the English Company's affairs, to lead their officers to command any troops, except such as are actually in their own pay and under their own authority. Great inconvenience has been found to arise from pursuing a different line of conduct which I hope will reconcile to your mind my declining to comply with the proposal. If you can suggest any plan by which one, two, or even three battalions of the Honorable Company's troops can be employed to advantage in securing your country against any sudden attack from Tippoo, I shall very readily take the same into consideration and if practicable, form an arrangement that will afford safety to your possession without deviating from the rules of our service." The Maha Rajah, though he knew well the drift of the Governor's proposal, and its ultimate result, gladly availed himself of the offer and determined to have two regiments of the English East India Company stationed within His Highness' dominions and he accordingly replied:—"The friendship and attachment I bear to the English Company are known to the whole world. I call the Almighty to witness that I rest my whole dependence on them for support and therefore most willingly acquiesce in the proposal in your Excellency's letter of having some battalions of the Company's troops with me. Your Excellency will be pleased to shew me your favor in any manner that can tend to the security and protection of my country."

In reply to this frank communication, Sir Archibald

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observed : " You may rest assured that the confidence
 " you repose in the friendship of the English Com-
 " pany is not ill-placed. They regard you as their
 " faithful ally and consider your interests the same as
 " their own. Your having acquiesced in the propo-
 " sition I made, of having some battalions of the Com-
 " pany's troops stationed on the frontier of Travancore,
 " is a wise and judicious measure : it will ensure
 " the safety of your country against the ambitious
 " views of any persons who may be ill-disposed towards
 " you and cannot fail to convince them of the danger
 " they would be exposed to in attacking a Prince sup-
 " ported and protected as you are by the English,
 " whose arms, by the blessing of God, are too powerful
 " for them to combat with. At the same time I am
 " anxious to see your country in a complete state of
 " security. I am not less so in effecting it in such a
 " manner as will render your expenses easy ; for this
 " purpose, I would recommend that in time of peace,
 " two battalions of the Company's native infantry
 " should be stationed on your frontiers at your expense
 " and that the amount may be either paid by you to
 " the Company in cash or pepper as may best suit your
 " convenience. That if an additional force of Euro-
 " peans and natives are required to strengthen your
 " frontier against the designs of an enemy, these shall
 " be maintained at the Company's expense entirely ;
 " with this proviso, that you will order them to be
 " supplied with provisions and the necessary articles
 " for erecting buildings to lodge them in and then
 " paying for the same at the usual rates of your
 " country." The Maha Rajah gladly acceded to this
 " proposal and this was the origin of a British subsidiary
 " force stationed in Travancore.

According to the agreement, two regiments com-
 manded by Captain Knox were stationed near Aycottah
 in the northern frontier of Travancore in the year
 964 M.E. (1788 A.D.). At the same time, as a medium
 for communicating between the Maha Rajah and the
 Madras Government, Mr. George Powney, a civil officer

under the English East India Company, was also stationed in Travancore. He may be reckoned as the first Political Resident and British representative in the Maha Rajah's Court.

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Although the Maha Rajah was by these arrangements relieved of a good deal of anxiety in regard to the threatened invasion of Tippoo Sultan he did not relax precautionary measures.

About this time Tippoo arrived at Palghautcherry with a large force, with the intention of marching against Travancore. He sent for his tributary, the Cochin Rajah. On the receipt of Tippoo's summons, the Rajah was perplexed. He apprehended that the Sultan who was then in the zenith of his power, angry at the ill-success of his negotiations with the Maha Rajah of Travancore, would punish him either by imprisonment or by compelling him to renounce his religion for that of Mahomedanism. He thought that Tippoo was incensed against him for allowing a number of refugees to pass through his territories to Travancore and might probably extort a grant from him, ceding his dominions to Mysore and banish him from the Cochin territories.

The Cochin chief conveyed the Sultan's requisition for his appearance to his allies the Dutch and the Travancore Maha Rajah, both of whom considered the Rajah's apprehension as justifiable, and advised him to excuse himself from responding to the Sultan's call.

The Cochin Rajah addressed the Sultan, humbly asking him to excuse his attendance, stating that he had already paid his tribute and that he was ready to obey any further orders from his suzerain, but that ill-health put it out of his power to undertake a journey in an unfavorable season. The Sultan professed his sympathy with the Rajah in his illness, and deputed his envoy Kader Khan, partly to ascertain the extent of the Rajah's illness, and partly to press him to send his heir apparent or at least a minister possessing his confidence. Kader Khan arrived at Thripoonithoray.

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The Rajah shut himself up in his room as his illness precluded his seeing the envoy, who continued to reside in the capital for some time.

During Kader Khan's stay he procured every information connected with the frontier fortification and other military arrangements of the Travancore Maha Rajah as well as the Dutch at Cochin, and communicated the same to his master at Palghautcherry. After the return of Kader Khan, Tippoo threatened the Cochin Rajah with the forcible seizure of his person and the annexation of his country. But the Travancore Maha Rajah soothed the fear-stricken Cochin Rajah, gave him every assurance of protection and support and informed him that he need not fear the Sultan, so long as he was south of the Travancore lines.

The Maha Rajah sent his Dewan Kasava Pillay to Cochin to consult and arrange with the Dutch Governor M'Van Angelbic for the further fortification of the frontier.

The Dutch forts of Aycottah and Cranganore were situated at the very northern frontier of Travancore. After the construction of the barrier works and the connecting fortifications, these forts were regarded as the best defence against the approach of an army to the frontier, and consequently the Maha Rajah had been treating with the Dutch Government for the last two years for the purchase of these two forts. By the arrangements lately entered into with the Madras Government, it had been settled that the British force posted in Travancore would only be available for the protection of *Travancore territory*, and so, if those forts belonged to the Dutch and Tippoo Sultan's army captured them and entered Travancore by that road, the Maha Rajah could not expect any assistance from the Honorable Company's regiments stationed at the northern frontier. Moreover, the Maha Rajah now heard that Tippoo himself was thinking of purchasing these forts.

The Maha Rajah at once authorized Dewan Kasava Pillay to enter into immediate negotiations with the Dutch Governor for the purchase of these two forts. By this measure, His Highness thought that he would station the two English regiments in those forts and thus protect the frontiers. As the Dutch had already sold many of their minor possessions to Travancore, and as the negotiations for the purchase of Monambam and all the northern Dutch possessions including the forts of Aycottah and Cranganore were now pending, the Dewan found no difficulty in coming to a speedy settlement.

On the 3rd July 1789, the Dewan concluded the bargain. M'Van Angelbic executed the title deeds on the part of the Dutch, to Dewan Kasava Pillay, on the part of the Maha Rajah. The Dutch possessions were sold for three lacs of Rupees, to be paid in several instalments, and the property was to change hands after receipt of the first instalment, which was paid on the last day of the week in which the deed was executed, and according to the terms of the purchase deed, the Dutch Governor transferred the property to Kasava Pillay in the presence of Mr. Powney, the British representative at the Travancore Court. This transaction of the Governor was subsequently ratified by the Batavian Government.

The Maha Rajah viewed the whole transaction with great satisfaction and apprised the Government of Madras of the same. His Highness observed in his letter that he hoped "the measure would prove a source of as much pleasure to that Government as it had been to himself." But before this letter reached Madras, Mr. Powney had written to Governor John Holland, who succeeded Sir A. Campbell, on the subject. On the receipt of this letter, Mr. Holland addressed the Maha Rajah as follows on the 17th August 1789:—"Mr. Powney has informed me that "you are on the point of concluding a negotiation "with the Dutch for purchasing Aycottah and the

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“ fort of Cranganore which they hold under the Rajah
 “ of Cochin. Although I shall at all times behappy to
 “ hear of your increasing prosperity, yet, at the pre-
 “ sent juncture, I think any purchase of lands and
 “ forts from the Rajah of Cochin, who is a tributary
 “ to the chief of Mysore, will tend to irritate this chief
 “ against you, and may have the appearance of a
 “ collusive transaction. I have expressed these to Mr.
 “ Powney in answer to his letter, and I have desired
 “ him fully to state to you the serious consequences
 “ which may result from engaging, at this time, in any
 “ measures that may produce discussions between the
 “ chief of Mysore and yourself. I think it necessary
 “ to inform you that this Government will not support
 “ you in any contests you may engage yourself on,
 “ beyond the limits of your own possessions.” The
 Maha Rajah received this letter only after the
 transaction was over. It has been already observed
 that the Maha Rajah had himself addressed a letter
 to the Governor at the close of the transaction. The
 Governor replied to His Highness on the 30th August.
 The letter ran thus :—“ My last letter to you was dated
 “ the 17th of the present month and was written in
 “ consequence of the notification which I had received
 “ from Mr. Powney of your being on the point of con-
 “ cluding a negotiation with the Dutch for purchasing
 “ Aycottah, &c. In the letter abovementioned I gave
 “ you my opinion fully upon the measure which
 “ you had in view and stated the impolicy of it. I
 “ told you also, in plain terms, that this Government
 “ would not support you in any contests in which you
 “ might engage yourself beyond the limits of your own
 “ possessions. Being thus furnished with my opinion
 “ and declarations respecting the negotiations, you
 “ cannot but expect that the news of your having con-
 “ cluded it and of your being in possession of Aycottah,
 “ and the fort of Cranganore is far from agreeable to
 “ me. Your letter therefore of the 10th instant, lately
 “ received, which you expected would give me pleasure,
 “ has had a different effect. I lament that you have

" taken the indiscreet step which may possibly involve CHAP.
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 " you in much embarrassment, if Tippoo should be
 " disposed to wrest from you these late acquisitions.
 " I cannot approve of your having entered into a
 " treaty with the Dutch for extension of territory
 " without the consent of this Government. This very
 " impolitic conduct makes you liable to a forfeiture of
 " the Company's protection, for you cannot expect
 " that they will defend territory of which you were
 " not possessed when their troops were sent into your
 " country, and which have since been obtained without
 " their assent. I therefore think it necessary you
 " should immediately give back to the Dutch the
 " places you have thus indiscreetly received from
 " them, and thereby establish your affairs precisely
 " upon their former footing. I again recommend to
 " you the greatest caution in your conduct towards
 " Tippoo." Thus was the transaction condemned by
 the Madras Government, and His Highness discour-
 aged from adopting measures absolutely necessary for
 the protection of his kingdom. But the Maha Rajah,
 though disheartened at first, was encouraged by his
 firm belief that the Honorable East India Company
 would do him justice when the true bearings of the
 case were laid before them.

The Maha Rajah submitted his vindication to the
 Governments of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and
 showed them the propriety of his conduct in purchasing
 the forts. He pointed out that the forts of Cranganore
 and Aycottah were at first in the possession of the Por-
 tuguese, who at the time of their settlement in India
 obtained possession of Cochin by conquest, and made
 it their capital; that Cranganore and Aycottah were
 their dependencies and the forts were built by the
 Portuguese so far back as 1523; that the Dutch having
 conquered the Portuguese in the year 1663, they
 held uninterrupted possession of the same till the date
 of the transaction, a long period of 126 years; that the
 Dutch were therefore quite competent to sell and the
 Maha Rajah to purchase them, without reference to

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either the Cochin Rajah or the Sultan of Mysore; that the purchase was not, as was erroneously supposed, from the Rajah of Cochin, the Sultan's tributary; that neither the Cochin Rajah nor any other prince had any right to the property in question; that the Maha Rajah had not, as was also erroneously supposed, concluded the bargain without the knowledge of the Madras Government; that independent of the circumstance of the sale having been conducted in the presence of Mr. Powney, Major Bannerman, whom Governor Campbell had delegated to Travancore as an adviser to the Maha Rajah, on the part of the English Government, had inspected the locality and the forts, and had suggested the advisability and stern necessity of the Maha Rajah's purchasing the forts, to prevent the great danger that Travancore would be exposed to, in case those forts should fall, by force or purchase, into the possession of the Sultan, a danger which even the assistance of the English would find it difficult to avert; and that the late Government of Sir A. Campbell had concurred in the opinion of Major Bannerman, that the Maha Rajah's object in purchasing the forts was not extension of territory or increase of revenue, but simply the security of his dominions. The Maha Rajah solicited the Bengal Government to do him the justice of appointing a Commission to enquire into these statements, as well as the points urged by him, adding that should he be required to surrender the forts he would do so to none but the English Government.

When the Sultan heard of the proceedings of the Madras Government, he thought that this was too good an opportunity to be lost. So he put forth his claims to the forts of Cranganore and Aycottah, alleging that they belonged to his tributary, the Cochin Rajah, and that therefore their purchase by Travancore was unlawful.

Although the arguments contained in Mr. Holland's letter were fully answered *seriatim*, that gentleman

was not satisfied with the defence put forth by the Maha Rajah. When Mr. Holland represented his one-sided views to Lord Cornwallis, his Lordship entirely disapproved of the transaction; but when his Lordship received the Maha Rajah's defence, he suspended his judgment and proposed to send Commissioners to investigate the subject.

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Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, remarked thus on the argument of Mr. Holland. He said: "The distinction made between recent acquisition and ancient territory appears to be a subterfuge of Government to cloak their dread of war, under a pretended love of peace." When these discussions were going on, His Highness was strengthening his defences to meet Tippoo. He concentrated all the forces and appointed Kasava Pillay the Commander-in-chief. The two forts of Aycottah and Cranganore were fortified and the Travancore army was garrisoned in and about them.

Meanwhile, Tippoo started from Coimbatore with a large army, consisting of infantry, cavalry and artillery, with a detachment of pioneers numbering in all 30,000 men, 5,000 horse and 20 cannon. He sent one of his Sirdars to the Maha Rajah with a threatening letter, accompanied with some presents. The Maha Rajah being then engaged with the celebration of the Dassara festival, he deputed Dewan Kasava Pillay to meet the Sirdar who had arrived at Paravoor.

The Dewan met Tippoo Sahib's Sirdar, and after the usual complimentary exchanges, the Sirdar was taken to Mavalikaray, and introduced to the Maha Rajah, who received Tippoo's letter and presents with his usual grace. The purport of the letter was; (1), a requisition for the immediate surrender of all the chiefs of Malabar who had taken refuge in the Maha Rajah's dominions; (2), that, as the Dutch had sold to him places to which they had no right, he should at once withdraw his troops from Cranganore; and (3), that he should demolish that part of his

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fortifications which crossed the territory of Cochin, because it belonged to the kingdom of Mysore."

Though the Maha Rajah felt indignant at the unjust and menacing tone of the Sultan's letter, and the haughty spirit of the envoy, he replied with great equanimity, and said (1), "that the Rajahs, against whose protection the Sultan complained, had obtained an asylum in his country several years back, because they were his relations; that no objection to their residence had ever been taken before, but to prove his amicable disposition they would nevertheless be removed; and that no refractory subject of the Mysore Government had ever, with his knowledge, been protected in Travancore; (2), that the fort and territory which he had purchased from the Dutch belonged to the Dutch, and was in no respect the property of the dependant of Tippoo; and (3), that the ground on which he had erected his lines was ceded to him, in full sovereignty, by the Rajah of Cochin, before that Rajah became tributary to the sovereign of Mysore, and that the lines existed at the time when he was included in the late treaty between the English and the Sultan and were sanctioned by the silence of that important deed." The envoy declared that the persistent refusal of the Travancore Sircar to be guided by the directions of the powerful Sultan, cannot but go much against the king, and a war with Travancore would be the result. He then left the place abruptly.

The Maha Rajah lost no time in transmitting a suitable reply to the Sultan laying before him strong arguments in support of the legality of His Highness' purchase of the two forts, and expressing his extreme desire to maintain peace between them, which His Highness pointed out should be reciprocated under the treaty of 1784. The Maha Rajah also forwarded some valuable presents to the Sultan in return.

Tippoo was infuriated at the contents of the Maha Rajah's letter, and forthwith despatched a rejoinder



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couched in severe language. The Sultan said that the Maha Rajah's reply was incorrect and made without proper inquiry, that from the tenor of his reply he acknowledged that he had allowed the Malabar Rajahs to escape from his country; that the Maha Rajah was responsible to Mysore for their liabilities, unless he recaptured and delivered them over; and that it was highly improper on his part to have purchased Cranganore without the assent of Mysore, in whose territories that fort lay. The Maha Rajah on receiving this haughty and arrogant communication thought it prudent to drop all further correspondence with the Sultan and submitted all the papers to the Madras Government, with a detailed account of Tippoo's warlike preparations.

On the 11th Dhanu (24th December), Tippoo encamped at a place four miles distant from the Travancore lines, where he began to erect batteries on the 12th (25th).

On the night of the 15th Dhanu, 964 M.E., (28th December 1789 A.D.), Tippoo's powerful army, under his personal command, attacked the Northern frontier of Travancore and attempted a breach of the barrier; but the attack was ably and gallantly resisted by the troops on duty, generally known by the designation of "Paravoor Battalion."

On the morning of the 15th Dhanu (28th December), the Sultan's force, consisting of 14,000 select infantry and a body of 500 pioneers, paraded in front of the line. The pioneers were ordered to clear a part of the ditch where the wall was not guarded, and they proceeded with the work which was not successfully completed during the night. However, the Sultan ordered the force to proceed and effect an entrance within the walls during the night. By day break on the 16th Dhanu (29th December) he gained an entrance and succeeded in possessing a considerable extent of the ramparts. The troops of the Maha Rajah, occupying those ramparts, retreated before Tippoo's army as the

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latter was marching by the side of the wall with the view of reaching the gate. The Travancore garrison opposed their progress. Tippoo found it necessary to bring in a reinforcement to afford help to the leading corps. In the hurry of the moment, the order was misunderstood and ill-executed. In this confusion, a party of twenty men of the Travancore garrison, who were stationed at a corner of the rampart, threw in a regular platoon on the flank which killed the officer commanding, and threw the corps into inextricable disorder and flight. The advancing relief was met and checked by an impetuous mass of fugitives.

The panic now became general and the retreating men were borne on to the ditch, while others were forced into it by the mass which pressed on from behind. Those that fell into the ditch were, of course, killed. The rear now became the front. The bodies that filled the ditch enabled the remainder to pass over them. The Sultan himself was thrown down in the struggle and the bearers of his palanquin trampled to death. Though he was rescued from death by some of his faithful followers, yet he received such injuries that he never forgot in this episode in his invasion of Travancore. Tippoo's State sword, signet ring, and other personal ornaments fell into the hands of the Travancore army; several officers and men were taken prisoners, and of the former, five were Europeans, and one a Mahratta.

Tippoo retreated with great shame and chagrin, and Dewan Kasava Pillay returned to Trevandrum in triumph, bringing with him Tippoo's sword, shield, &c., as trophies. The Maha Rajah communicated the news of his success to his friends the English and the Nabob, and received their warm congratulations. The Nabob requested the Maha Rajah to send Tippoo's sword, shield, dagger, belt, palanquin, &c., and they were accordingly forwarded.

In the interval, the Governor of Madras, Mr. Holland, wrote the following letter to the Sultan under date the 1st January 1790:—"We wrote to you on

"the declaring our intention of inquiring into the grounds of your claims concerning the forts of Oranganore and Aycottah and assuring you, if they should appear to be equitable, that we would cause those forts to be returned to the Dutch and placed on the same footing on which they were previous to the late purchase of them by the Rajah of Travancore. We have now heard that your army has approached to the neighbourhood of these forts and that the Rajah is under alarm from an idea of its being your intention to take them by force. You are not unacquainted with the circumstance of the Rajah being an ally of the English and you are no doubt sensible that any hostility towards him would be contrary to the faith of the treaty subsisting between us. The forts in question are of no value to us; but we think it necessary to inform you that we shall consider any attempt to take them by force on the present footing of affairs as an act inconsistent with the fair and liberal sentiments of honor and friendship subsisting between us and tending to create hostilities between the two Governments. It is our firm intention to do you justice on this occasion: and it is scarcely necessary for us to say that we are equally determined to do justice to our own reputation and honor, and it will be wise for you to wait the issue of a fair inquiry. If you are desirous of settling the points in contest by the investigation of commissioners, we will appoint one or more to meet such persons as may be appointed by you at any convenient place on the borders of our respective countries, and you will then judge whether our intentions are fair. In the meantime, we shall state the whole of the proceedings to the superior Government in Bengal and wait their orders on them. On the justice and equity of their decision you may safely rely, as well as on the firmness of the British Government to retaliate with their whole force any injury they may receive either on their honor, or territories and possessions."

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This letter reached the Sultan soon after his defeat. But it would appear that he wrote a letter to the Governor, some days after, ante-dating it and pretending to have written it before the receipt of Mr. Holland's communication. In this, Tippoo concealed all the facts and falsely represented to the Governor that his troops were employed in searching for fugitives; that the Maha Rajah's troops fired upon them and that his own troops retaliated and carried the lines; but that on his being informed of this, he ordered his troops to desist and return; and he requested the Governor to direct the Maha Rajah to observe the treaty.

Tippoo now determined on retaliating on Travancore. He remained in the vicinity of the northern frontier and concentrated a large army there which consisted of infantry, cavalry and artillery, which would have been enough to conquer the largest portion of India, rather than the small kingdom of Travancore. The Madras Government was duly informed of the above proceedings of the Sultan, and the Maha Rajah received assurances of assistance from the Governor, in the event of Tippoo's invasion of his country.

In the meantime, the Maha Rajah was not idle. The northern frontier line was repaired and all available troops were concentrated there. Recruits were enlisted, and guns, stores and ammunition were stored in the arsenals. The anxiety of the Maha Rajah was a good deal increased by the disparity between his means of defence and the Sultan's immense army and military resources.

No measures were adopted by the Madras Government till the beginning of March, though the Maha Rajah had repeatedly communicated to the Government intelligence of the close approach of Tippoo at the head of a large army, and their commencing to raise batteries and fill ditches. Still no active measures were taken by the Madras Government. On account of the inactivity and feeble policy of Mr. J.

Holland, which have been the theme of public comment, the Maha Rajah of Travancore was exposed to the mercy of the relentless tiger of Mysore. The very subordinates of the Governor condemned his policy. Some idea of the perilous situation of the Maha Rajah at this juncture may be realized from the following letter written at the time by T. Munro, a subaltern in the Madras army, (afterwards Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras): "A second attack is daily expected; and if the king (of Travancore) is left alone, all his exertions against a power so superior can delay but for a very short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked; and it is said that they have orders not to act even on the defensive. If such be the case, the Rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn, for the present is the only moment in which the aid of such a handful of men can be effectual. The barrier once forced, orders for them to act, will arrive too late."

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Tippoo's force commenced action. The opening of hostilities was a skirmish between a party of Travancoreans and Mysoreans, outside the wall, on the 20th Kumbham 964 M.E. (2nd March 1790, A.D.), and Tippoo's artillery began to work on the 24th Kumbham (6th March). Finding no perceptible effect on the wall, a few more batteries were erected close to the northern wall and the largest guns were mounted, which opened a destructive fire. The wall resisted the fire for nearly a month and in Madam (April) a practicable breach of three-quarter of a mile in length was effected. By this time, the Travancore army abandoned the defence as useless, and retreated. A portion of Tippoo's army, under Lally, attacked the fort of Cranganore, which was defended by the Maha Rajah's troops under Captain Flory. Finding that the defence of the fort against the enemy was impossible, and an English Engineer of the Company's regiments stationed then at Aycottah whom Captain Flory consulted being of the same opinion, he abandoned it to

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the enemy, who demolished the fortifications the next day. Lally now proceeded to Kuriapilly, which fort was also abandoned by the Travancoreans. The whole line thus fell into the hands of the Sultan, together with 200 pieces of cannon of various sizes and metal and an immense quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores, which were forwarded to Coimbatore as trophies.

While this destructive warfare was going on, the two English regiments stationed at Aycottah and another brigade consisting of a European and two native regiments just landed from Bombay under Colonel Hartlay at Monambam and Palliport, remained passive spectators of all these disasters and depredations on the plea that no orders had been received by them, from the Governor of Madras, to fight against the Sultan.

It is to be observed here that the orders of Government to co-operate with the Travancore army were at last received by the Officer Commanding the British force: but their receipt being just at the time of Tippoo's entry into the Travancore lines, the commander considered that his force was no match for the victorious army of the Sultan, and that therefore it would be injudicious to sacrifice his men.

Seeing that the English force stationed at Aycottah did not venture to assist Travancore, Tippoo was encouraged to march on to the interior committing devastation on his way.

Dewan Kasava Pillay was at Paravoor, at the head of a strong force of the Travancore army with its European officers. But the further advance of the invaders could not be arrested and so the Dewan thought it prudent to retreat.

The Sultan's first object was to destroy the "contemptible wall" and fill up the ditch, and so he took a pickaxe himself and set an example which was followed by every one present and the demolition of the wall was completed by his army without much delay.

After this, the lawless force was let loose in the villages. They committed various atrocities and the country was laid waste with fire and sword. Some of the inhabitants fled for shelter to the wild hills of Kunthanaud, while many were taken captives. Hindu temples and Christian churches were equally desecrated by the followers of Mahomet. Towers of pagodas, the houses of the rich, and the huts of the poor, all were burnt to ashes, and the scenes throughout the districts of Alangaud and Paravoor were heart-rending. The ruins which may be seen up to the present day testify to the ferocity of the invaders. Records of antiquity, secured in the archives of pagodas, palaces, churches and the houses of the nobles were all committed to the flames.

All these cruelties and atrocities were perpetrated with the express sanction of the Sultan, who, with his main army marched southward, and reached Alwaye, the celebrated watering place where, a few years ago, the Maha Rajah had performed the vedic sacrifice (Yagam) at a considerable expenditure as mentioned in page 211.

Fortunately for the country, the south-west monsoon broke out with unusual severity and the beautiful Alwaye river, a stream which usually rises after a few showers, filled and overflowed its banks causing Tippoo's army great inconvenience and rendering their march almost impossible. The current, during the freshes in this river is so strong, that even the permanent residents of the adjacent villages find difficulty in crossing it at this time. As the country around is mostly intersected by numerous rivers and streams, and intermixed with large paddy fields submerged under water at this season, Tippoo and his army were surprised at a scene which they had seldom witnessed before, and were bewildered by their critical situation.

Tippoo was certainly in a very awkward predicament and one for which he was not prepared. He had no idea of what a Malabar monsoon was. His army

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had no shelter ; no dry place for parade ; all their ammunition, accoutrements, &c., got wet. Even the very necessities of life were washed away by the impetuous current of the flooded river. These untoward events exercised a depressing influence in the mind of Tippoo. If he had ever repented of his cruel actions in his life, it was at this moment. He repented his having reduced to ashes large pagodas, churches and other edifices which could have now afforded him and his army shelter and protection from the severity of the rains. Cholera, small-pox and other epidemics broke out. Provisions became scanty, and the scarcity was followed almost by famine. Numbers began to perish by disease and hunger. The lawless people took advantage of the time and commenced plundering every thing that they could get hold of, and in fine, the state of the country had become so desolate, that even the pen of Sir Walter Scott, the great Novelist, would find it difficult to give an adequate description of it.

Kasava Pillay, after leaving Paravoor, strengthened the garrison at every military station, both at the sea beach and at Arookutty and other places, erected stockades, at every backwater passage, fortified the line and batteries between Kumarakam and the Kundoor hills at Poonjar. All the responsible officers, both military and revenue, were posted at different places and the divisional revenue authorities were directed to remain at intermediate stations and raise irregular militia, armed with whatever descriptions of weapon the people could get at the moment, such as bows, arrows, swords, cudgels, &c. The Dewan then went to Trevandrum. He found the Maha Rajah, who was already advanced in years, in an extremely melancholy state of mind. His Highness, when he saw the Dewan exclaimed in a very low voice :—" We have now lost every thing. Our safety is in the hands of Providence. Padmanabha Swamy alone should protect us in this perilous predicament. It is now impossible to check Tippoo's progress. We have trusted the English and placed every confidence in them. But now, it is our

misfortune that the Sultan should be thus allowed to encroach upon our territory." Dewan Kasava Pillay, though equally perplexed at the situation, consoled the Maha Rajah by the announcement that he had learnt from the Dutch as well as from his English friends, that the Bengal Government had taken the matter into their hands and a war against Tippoo was at hand, and he added that by the mercy of Providence, the Maha Rajah would be soon relieved from all fears, as regards the Sultan. At the same time, the Dewan informed the Maha Rajah that Tippoo's progress from Alwaye was totally impeded on account of the rain, that any attempt on his part to march with his army from Alwaye to up-country, must be thwarted by the natural defences of the country, that his cavalry as well as his infantry could not find road-way for a free march, that the backwater had been properly stockaded at different places so much so that no canoes or boats could be taken from Alwaye, up the river to the south, without encountering the stockades and the backwater garrison, and that the line between Kumarakam and Kundoor hills had been strongly barricaded while a regular militia lined the hills and the sea, so that till the opening of the rumoured English war, nothing would occur to Travancore.

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The Dewan's assurances and representations encouraged the Maha Rajah a good deal, and the first order His Highness gave the Dewan was to go back to the north and adopt further measures for the increased protection and safety of the numerous families who had taken asylum in the Maha Rajah's territories. His Highness displayed greater anxiety about these families than about the safety of his own kingdom and person.

The Cochin Rajah had already sent his royal family to Trevandrum with the following letter to the Maha Rajah :—"Tippoo has come to Paravoor, and Cranganore is being cannonaded. I therefore desire to send my family and children to your capital. Take

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"them safely over. God is witness that to you I con-
fide my all."

The Dewan returned to the north. News of Tippoo's first attack on the Travancore lines and his defeat on the 29th December 1789 reached Calcutta on the 26th January following. Lord Cornwallis wrote at once to the Madras Government expressing his hope that the Government had already declared war against Tippoo, and that every exertions was being made to conduct it to a satisfactory issue. His Lordship declared that he was determined "to exact a full reparation from Tippoo for this wanton and unprovoked violation of treaty." This letter does not appear to have had the desired effect upon Mr. Holland. The Governor-General repeatedly urged war as the only honorable alternative left. "We had dissembled," the Governor-General wrote, "our sense of Tippoo's failure in the performance of several stipulations in the last treaty of peace, as well as of many insults and injuries that he had offered to us in the course of the last three or four years, and we are now resolved to curb his insolence and exact signal reparation for the many injuries that we and our allies have sustained."

In a letter dated the 8th February, Lord Cornwallis blamed the Madras Government for neglect of duty and disobedience of orders, and for having, in their correspondence with the Maha Rajah, "discouraged a faithful ally in the defence of his country against an enemy who was within a few miles of his frontiers, and with the insolence and violence of whose character they had long been fully acquainted." On the 9th March, the Governor-General forcibly observed "good policy as well as a regard to our reputation in this country, requires that we should not only exact severe reparation from Tippoo, but also that we should take this opportunity to reduce the power of a prince who avows upon every occasion so rancorous an enmity to our nation."

Mr. Holland, Governor of Madras, still persisted in

his mischievous and perverse policy of inaction and delayed hostilities, and the Government of Lord Cornwallis wisely determined to assume the Government of Madras themselves; but the supercession of Mr. Holland by the appointment of General Meadows, as Governor of Madras, in succession to Sir Archibald Campbell relieved them from the necessity of resorting to such an extreme measure.

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On the 30th March, Lord Cornwallis addressed the following letter to General Meadows the new Governor:—"So far am I from giving credit to the late Government for economy in not making the necessary preparations for war according to positive orders of the Supreme Government, after having received the most gross insults that could be offered to any nation, I think it very possible that every cash of that ill-judged saving may cost the Company a crore of rupees, besides which I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice which you have made by that delay, of the honor of your country by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Rajah of Travancore which we were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend."

General Meadow's assumption of the Madras Government was inaugurated by the declaration of war against Tippoo.

In his reply to General Meadow's formal announcement of his arrival and assumption of office, Tippoo took exception to the military preparations made by the Madras Government and he intimated his wish to send a person of suitable dignity, who would explain to the Governor his views on the subject, bring to the notice certain important matters, and state the circumstances which led him to object to the menacing attitude of the Madras Government.

To this communication, the Governor's reply was short and decisive. He said:—"The English equally incapable of offering an insult, as of submitting

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"to one, have always looked upon war as declared from the moment you attacked their ally, the king of Travancore." The Governor of Madras addressed the Maha Rajah, assuring His Highness that preparations were in progress for punishing the Sultan for his wanton violation of the treaty, and at the same time requesting the Maha Rajah to prevail on the Malabar princes and chiefs who had taken refuge in Travancore to join the English, in bringing about the humiliation of the tyrant of Mysore. While Tippoo was in his uncomfortable encampment at Alwaye, as has been already described, intelligence of the commencement of hostilities and the assembling of a large English force at Trichinopoly reached him. Harassed on all sides, the Sultan was under the necessity of beating a precipitate retreat. But he was in a position full of danger and anxiety. The rivers were all full. The country was under water. The Cranganore bar rose high with a swift current seawards. Except boats, no other means of communication could be used in that part of the country at that time. There was no time to be lost. He divided his army into two portions and ordered one portion to march viâ Annamanaday and Chalakudy to Trichoor and thence to Palghaut, and the other viâ Cranganore and Chowghaut to Palghaut. This hasty retreat was attended with the loss of the great portion of the army and bore some resemblance to the disastrous retreat of the great Napoleon from Moscow. This calamity was accelerated by the Travancore army under Dewan Kasava Pillay following in close pursuit.

The Travancore force joined the British army at Palghautcherry, Coimbatore and Dindigul, and fought under the command of British officers, such as Colonel Stuart, Lieutenant Chalmers, Major Cuppage, &c.

The Travancore army remained and fought with the British force against Tippoo, up to the conclusion of the war and the treaty of Seringapatam, where the Dewan Kasava Pillay was present.

The treaty of Seringapatam and the reduction of Tippoo's power was no small source of satisfaction and relief to the Maha Rajah. But he was destined not to enjoy peace of mind, even at a time when he considered himself freed from all troubles and mental pains, for the contribution of a large amount of money was demanded by the English East India Company, for the expenses incurred by the Company's military department in protecting Travancore against Tippoo Sultan, while by the agreement of 1788, the Honorable East India Company had bound themselves to station two regiments in Travancore, at the expense of the Travancore State, for its protection and they expressly provided that "*If an additional force of Europeans and Natives are required to strengthen your frontier against the designs of an enemy, these shall be maintained at the Company's expense entirely.*" The Maha Rajah therefore little expected such an extraordinary demand from the Governor of Madras. However, a sense of delicacy and friendship dictated to his mind not to discuss the question at such a time with his ally, notwithstanding the empty condition of His Highness' treasury and the embarrassed state of his finances. The Maha Rajah managed to pay seven lacs of rupees by several instalments. But still, the Governor of Madras, Sir Charles Oakely, thought it right to impose upon the Maha Rajah the payment of ten lacs of rupees per annum, as a contribution towards the expense, independent of the charge of His Highness' troops employed with their (English) armies. On a just and fair representations being made by His Highness, Sir Charles rejoined "Your Excellency's mind is, I doubt not, fully impressed with the justice of the Company's Government in standing forth at a critical juncture to protect you against the designs of a tyrant who had drawn the sword for your destruction and must have instantly effected it, but for the powerful interposition of your friends. The war thus undertaken upon your account has been carried on with all the forces of the Company and at an

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"enormous expense. Not only the revenues of this presidency but those of Bengal and the greatest part of the resources of the Carnatic and Tanjore have been appropriated to this great undertaking, and on the ultimate success of our arms, Your Excellency must trust for all that is valuable to you, your territory, your honor, and even your personal safety." He also said that the demand of the Company was "calculated upon a fair and moderate estimate." Mr. Powney, the British resident, at His Highness' Court also represented the matter in the strongest terms.

The Maha Rajah, now pressed for money, consulted with his faithful Dewan, Kasava Pillay, who suggested that a moiety of the amount should be paid again, and he promised to exert his utmost endeavours to raise funds for meeting this unexpected demand.

The Dewan applied his energies to this difficult task and made up a sum of about seven lacs of rupees and paid it without any great delay.

On a further requisition of the Madras Government for a payment of the Maha Rajah's contribution at the rate of ten lacs of rupees per annum, during the late war, the Maha Rajah felt his situation most keenly. The Dewan was not at the time at the capital and the Maha Rajah's feelings of embarrassment are disclosed in a private and confidential letter he wrote to his minister:—"I have not in any way bound myself to contribute to the expenses of the war; yet the Company presses for payment. I have raised loans and paid fourteen lacs; yet they make further demands. My previous debts remain unpaid. I have raised money by doing what I ought not to do. I never was in such anxiety and distress before. The Company care more for money than for their friend."

When the Dewan appeared before the royal presence, the Maha Rajah exclaimed that His Highness little expected his old ally, the Honorable East India Company, would thus persist in their demand and

trouble him in his old age; that the Madras Government ought to have recollected and respected their solemn engagement with Travancore in 1788 (963 M.E.); that that Government could not be ignorant of the immense expenses Travancore had undergone while entertaining a large force from the time of Hyder Ally's aims upon Travancore, a period of about twenty-five years, and also for assisting the military operations of the Company and of the Carnatic Nabob both in Tinnevely and Calicut; that the Company's Government ought to have also considered the irreparable loss and disgrace to which Travancore was subjected owing to the persistent obstinacy of Governor Holland of Madras, by which alone Tippoo's army was enabled to attack and enter the northern limits of Travancore and devastate the country: that this loss of the Maha Rajah was not taken into consideration when the last treaty of Seringapatam was concluded, where the East India Company had obtained three crores and thirty lacs of rupees and one-half of the Sultan's newly acquired territory, which latter was divided and appropriated between the Company and their allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas; and that it was highly to be regretted that the Governor of Madras gave a deaf ear to all the Maha Rajah's representations of the difficulties he had to encounter. The Dewan, Kasava Pillay, suggested to His Highness, that a full representation of the subject to Lord Cornwallis would probably relieve the Maha Rajah from such extravagant demands. The suggestion of the Dewan was adopted, and the Governor-General after mature consideration, gave a just and favorable decision freeing the Maha Rajah from the obligation of meeting in full the demand of the Madras Government.

As has been already said, the Governor of Madras, General Meadows, requested the Maha Rajah in May 1791. "to prevail on the Malabar chiefs who had taken shelter in Travancore to join the English" against Tippoo. But subsequently, the Government

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vested the Maha Rajah with the power of controlling all the Malabar principalities and restoring them to their respective princes and chiefs.

The work assigned to His Highness by the Madras Government was certainly a very honorable one, though not unattended with difficulties, for the country was still in an unsettled state. Many of its princes and chiefs fled at the approach of the dreaded Sultan, leaving their countries at the mercy of the Mysore tyrant; others preferred suicide to an ignominious conversion to Mahomedanism. There were many of the ruling princes and chiefs of Malabar whose territories had been given by the Sultan to his Mussulman Sirdars and others of his caste. The whole of Malabar was in a state of chaos. The selection of His Highness to arrange the restoration of the countries to their respective rulers gave universal satisfaction. Everybody acknowledged the stern impartiality and the calm judgment of the Maha Rajah. Moreover, most of these princes and chiefs had received an asylum in Travancore, and knew the liberality, justice, kindness and truthfulness of His Highness, and they were all satisfied with the choice of the Company's Government.

The princes and chiefs who were then in Travancore, were called before the Maha Rajah, and after receiving His Highness' kind advice and suitable presents, were sent back to the north, with instructions to go to the Dewan who was then stationed at Palghautcherry with a large army.

The royal family of Cochin was sent back to Thriponithoray as soon as Tippoo re-crossed the Travancore frontier.

The Zamorin, who was then past seventy years of age, wished to remain in Travancore for some time longer. The Maha Rajah allowed the septuagenarian to do so and deputed his heir apparent Krishnen Rajah to Calicut to act for the Zamorin.

The Rajah of Cherakel remained at his headquarters after despatching his family to Travancore, in the hope of gaining the favor of the Sultan, through the medium of Ally Rajah of Cannanore, but being disappointed "he died either by his own hand or by that of a friendly Nair whom he is said to have required to perform this last mournful office for him." No successor to the deceased Rajah was nominated, as there were two claimants, and in accordance with the prevailing custom the Maha Rajah elected the elder of the claimants as successor to his deceased uncle.

The names of some of the Rajahs and Chiefs who took refuge in Travancore are—

- | | |
|--------|------------------------|
| Rajahs | (1) Zamorin. |
| | (2) Cherakel. |
| | (3) Cottayam. |
| | (4) Kurrumpanaud. |
| | (5) Vettathnaud. |
| | (6) Beypore. |
| | (7) Tanniore. |
| | (8) Palghaut, &c., &c. |
| Chiefs | (1) Koulaparay. |
| | (2) Coringotte. |
| | (3) Kowgat. |
| | (4) Etatharay. |
| | (5) Mannore. |

Dewan Kasava Pillay was now delegated by the Maha Rajah to the onerous duty of restoring these Princes and Chiefs to their respective countries and this appears to have taken up the time of this officer, for about a year, during the war. He had to move between Cherakel and Palghautcherry to investigate the claims of each of the Rajahs and nobles to the territories, as there had been many encroachments on the villages and lands. He visited the capitals of all the Rajahs and Chiefs and reinstated every one of them in his respective possessions.

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As many of these Princes and Chiefs were ignorant and unable to conduct the administration of their States, the Dewan was obliged to appoint Kariakars (ministers) to manage their affairs.

For the Zamorin (who was then absent at Travancore and for whom Krishnen Rajah was acting), the Dewan selected an able and influential Palghaut Brahman, named Saminatha Patter, as Kariakar.

After making all these arrangements, the Dewan came to an understanding that every one of these States, according to its ability, should supply the British and Travancore Commissariat departments with grain.

Every Kariakar was made responsible for the due performance of his functions, with the threat, that the least remissness on the part of any these officials would result in his dismissal from office.

By this wise arrangement of the Dewan, a sufficient supply of grain was secured for the forces stationed on the Malabar coast and also at Palghautcherry and Coimbatore.

Kariakar Saminatha Patter displayed great zeal and activity, and the acting Zamorin, Krishnen Rajah, experienced some difficulty in the free exercise of his despotic power to which he had been accustomed from infancy.

Krishnen Rajah's junior now proceeded to Trichinopoly and appeared before General Meadows and succeeded in obtaining a cowle from the Madras Government, recognising him as the legitimate successor of the old Zamorin. On the strength of this cowle, Krishnen Rajah began to act independently of Dewan Kasava Pillay, and the result was a deficiency in the supply of grain and other necessaries which were to be sent up from the Malabar coast. Dewan Kasava Pillay reported the cause of this to General Meadows, who remarked: "It was never intended the cowlenamah forwarded to him (Krishnen Rajah)

should convey any authority independent of the Rama Rajah (Travancore) but that the old Calicut Rajah, CHAP.
III. who has long resided in the Travancore country, or persons properly authorized by him should administer the revenue of the country under the control and direction of Rama Rajah, whose protection to the dispossessed Rajahs and exertions for the prosecution of the war entitle him to take a lead in the affairs of the coast." General Meadows again said that "in the execution of such authority as he might be vested with by the old Rajah (Zamorin) he is to be guided by the instructions he shall receive from the minister of the Rama Rajah, now at Palghaut, and consider himself in all respects subject to his command and authority."

After the above peremptory order of the Madras Government, the Malabar province was under the sole control of the Maha Rajah, whose minister, Kasava Pillay, now became dictator of the Princes and Chiefs of Malabar. He held this important office and controlled all affairs connected with the war till the treaty of Seringapatam.

During this time the Cochin Rajah brought forward a claim against the petty State of Koulaparay. He contended that the Nair Chief of Koulaparay was a tributary of his and that the Travancore Dewan's reinstating the Nair as an independent Chief was a matter of grievance to him. The Madras Government, after a careful and impartial enquiry, (into the details of which it is not our province to enter) pronounced Dewan Kasava Pillay's act just and right.

By the treaty of Seringapatam, Tippoo was bound to cede one-half of his dominions to the Honorable East India Company, and in his schedule of the districts to be ceded, he for a similar object included the Travancore districts of Alangaud, Paravoor and Kunthnaud as belonging to him.

When Commissioners were appointed to take charge of the ceded territories, Dewan Kasava Pillay informed

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the Bombay Commissioners so early as May that these districts belonged to Travancore, and subsequently Mr. Powney, the British Resident in Travancore, reported that "the hobilies in question had appertained to the Travancore Rajah ever since 1755, having been at that time made over to him by the Rajah of Cochin when the latter was at war with the Zamorin, and that these being included in cession was therefore altogether unwarrantable."

The Maha Rajah laid the whole matter before Lord Cornwallis and the Governor-General said, "With respect to the talooks of Alangaud, Paravoor and Kunnathnaud, the justice of the cession of them to the Company must be decided by the period of the commencement of the war, when if they were in the possession of the Rajah of Travancore by whatever means and more especially if it shall appear that the Rajah of Travancore had acquired these districts from the Rajah of Cochin before the latter became tributary to the Hydery Sircar, it would be an act of great injustice on the part of the Company to deprive him of them."

After a good deal of correspondence between Tippoo, the Indian Government, and the Commissioners, two of the Commissioners, Messrs. Page and Boddam, were specially deputed to hold an inquiry to ascertain the facts of the case. When it was found by the Commissioners that Tippoo had no right to include those districts among those ceded to the Company, the Rajah of Cochin came forward and claimed the very same districts. He alleged that the Maha Rajah "having only assisted his ancestor in the recovery of part of the conquest thus made from this his country, from the Zamorin and therefore left incomplete the performance of the consideration for the cession of the three talooks in question, the Rajahs of Cochin have ever since annually continued to require their being relinquished by the Travancore Rajah who had frequently promised a compliance but never performed."

He (the Cochin Rajah) therefore contended that he was entitled to the talooks in question. This was really quite an unfounded claim, probably invented in a moment of weakness or temptation under the instigation of unprincipled advisers. The able and pains-taking Commissioners obtained a full explanation from the Travancore Dewan Kasava Pillay, who joined them during the time of the investigation, and being quite satisfied with the justice and validity of the Maha Rajah's claim to those districts, called upon the Cochin Rajah for evidence in support of his claims. Finding that he had very little to offer as a convincing proof of the justice of his claim, he judiciously abandoned his suit. The Commissioners in their report to the Government wrote as follows:—"At length the Rajah came and with tears in his eyes requested them not to insist on making any further scrutiny into the points in question as he had now become fully convinced that he did not possess any rights to the said districts which had been ceded to the State of Travancore with other parts of his country some years previous to Hyder Ally's conquest." The Cochin Rajah's candid and frank declaration, though made at the eleventh hour, enabled the Governor-General to give a final and just decision, confirming the Maha Rajah's undisputed claim to the districts of Alangaud, Paravoor and Kunnathnaud.

Though throughout the greater part of the Maha Rajah's reign the country was plunged in war, the improvement of the internal administration of the country was not in the least neglected.

The first step taken was to improve all the seaports for the purpose of increasing traffic. The Dewan entertained extensive views in commercial affairs, and was convinced that the prosperity of Travancore depended in a great measure on its commercial resources, and that there would be increased security to the kingdom by affording facilities for vessels to anchor at the various ports.

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Dewan Kasava Pillay accordingly proceeded to visit the coasts and seaports from Cape Comorin to the north, and after arranging for the introduction of certain improvements to the port of Colachel, he came to Poowar and thence to Velingium,* in whose roadsteads vessels could anchor in perfect safety. Being resolved to establish a port in the neighbourhood of Velingium, arrangements for building a large warehouse, a store godown and a spacious bungalow at Poonthoray were made. In the course of a few months, the beach at the latter place was dotted with various buildings, the property of private individuals and fishermen, and several other classes of industrious people also began to inhabit the place, so that the prospects of the new port appeared bright.

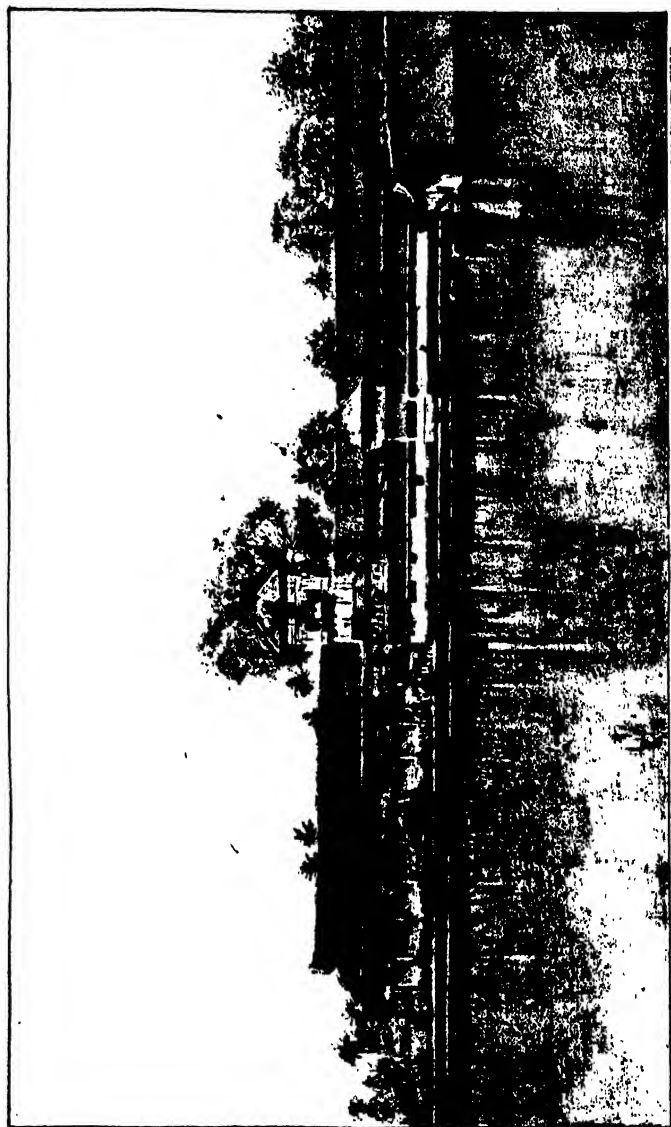
After the opening of this port, the Dewan continued his progress to the north, and while at the port of Poracaud (where the Dutch had a factory), his enquiring and energetic mind was directed to the singular state of the sea at Alleppey, a few miles north of Poracaud. He ordered a survey of the sea by some experienced persons about him, and finding the existence of a good anchorage protected by a bank, he resolved to open a port there also.

This important resolve was communicated to His Highness, who was only too willing to approve of all such useful measures. The necessary sanction was at once accorded for undertaking the work, with the necessary outlay.

Dewan Kasava Pillay commenced by getting the beach cleared of jungle, for it was thickly covered with wild thorny bushes, which were the habitation of jackals and other wild beasts. The beach was cleared in the course of two months and made fit for erecting buildings on.

A warehouse and a few shops were built at the Sircar expense, and merchants were invited from

* Here the English East India Company had a factory.



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various places in Travancore to establish themselves at the new port. CHAP.
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The Dewan communicated with his friends at Bombay, and induced a couple of rich and influential Cutch and Sind merchants from thence to come and settle at the new port.

To effect the permanent settlement of Hindus at the place, a pagoda was built in the interior, and Brahman cloth merchants who were invited from Tinnevely and other commercial towns established themselves at Alleppey.

All this while the Dewan remained at Alleppey, with his official establishment, and as an additional proof, to the new settlers, of the Sircar's intention to make the place one of some importance, the Dewan ordered the construction of a spacious building for the Huzzoor Cutcherry, and a palace for the residence of the Maha Rajah, whenever His Highness visited the locality.

A. Vijaripucar (manager), was appointed and all the hill produce was ordered to be brought to Alleppey and stored there, under the charge of the Vijaripucar.

The timber grown in Malayattoor and other forests was given out on contract to an influential native Christian (Mathoo Tharagan), who was directed to bring his timber to Alleppey and sell it there.

Thamby Naicken and other Vijaripucar were appointed and stationed in various parts of the forests, such as Combum, Goodaloor, &c., to collect and forward to Alleppey, all the hill produce, viz., cardamom, bees-wax, honey, ivory, stick lac, &c., and thus a system of forest conservancy was introduced for the first time in Travancore.

With the view of clearing the State-debt, which was still unpaid, the Dewan adopted another measure, viz., the building of ships for conveying the staple produces of the country to Bombay and Calcutta, and thus the Sircar embarked in trade and commercial speculations.

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Three ships were built and they carried to favorable markets such produce as were monopolised by the Sircar. In the course of two or three years a large amount of profit was realized, a circumstance which afforded additional satisfaction to the sovereign.

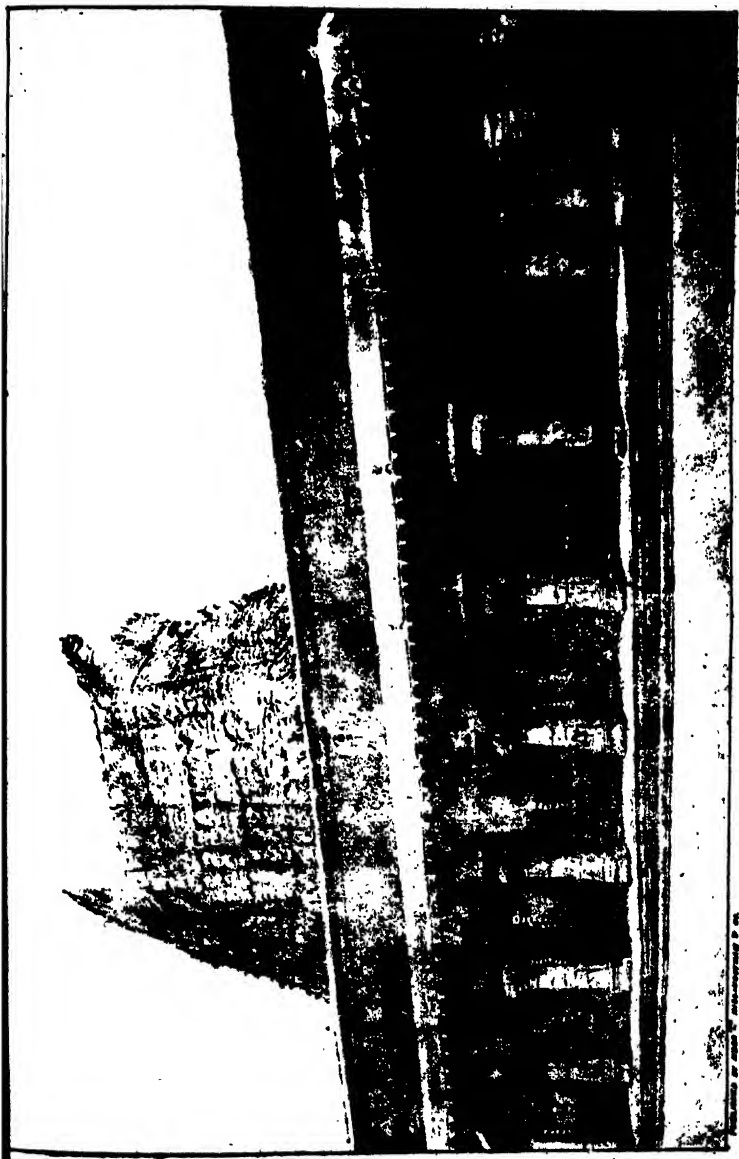
Several canals were opened to facilitate and extend communication from the back-water to the new town of Alleppey.

The Dewan, after accomplishing so much returned to Trevandrum, and commenced his improvements there. The public road leading to the east from the eastern gate of the Trevandrum fort was further widened. Bazaars or shops were built on the side of the road at Chalay, and a regular traffic and market established there. A bridge over the Kilhar river and another over the Karamanay river with granite stone and several other public works were constructed, besides further irrigation works at Nanjenaud.


The Dewan also introduced improvements into the town of Kottar by inviting a number of weavers, dyers, painters and other industrious workmen from Tinnevely and Madura to settle there; and thus this town became a very rich and important one, and formed the grand depôt for the supply of cloths for the whole kingdom of Travancore.

The great pagoda of Trevandrum was repaired, and the large flag-staff beautified and gilt. A golden vehicle for carrying the image of Sree Padmanabha Swamy, called Indra Vahanam, was made and an admirable granite work called Kulasekhara Mandapom, as well as several other valuable works were constructed.

Gold coins called Anantharayan fanam, Chinna fanam and Ananthavaraben were coined in the Travancore mint, in addition to a large quantity of silver bullion, coined as chuckrums. A new contribution called Nilavary, upon Sircar pattam lands, was raised which yielded a good round sum of money.



KULASEKHARA MUNDAPAM.

Thus the Dewan succeeded in clearing away the greater part of the State-debt contracted in consequence of  CHAP. III.

All the fortifications were improved, a few more were newly constructed; and the manufacture of guns, shots and other warlike stores at Udayagerry was pushed on with great vigour. Palaces were built in different parts of the country, and the official buildings at Mavalikarai received much attention. The pagoda tower at Trevandrum was successfully completed. The temples throughout the country were repaired or improved.

The Madras Government, though on the most friendly terms with the Maha Rajah, had been making strenuous efforts to strengthen treaty stipulations and conditions with Travancore. After the treaty of Seringapatam, the Maha Rajah considered that the services of the two battalions of the Company's forces stationed at Aycottah might be dispensed with. But on communicating this view to the Madras Government, Sir Charles Oakley observed that the military forces kept up by the Company extended to the protection of their allies, who should therefore take a share of the ordinary expense of this establishment, adding: "In estimating the advantage which your country derives from the Company's protection I have recurred to the transaction which passed between your Excellency and this Government in 1788, at which time two battalions of our Sepoys were by your own desire stationed in your country. The expense of such a force I doubt not your Excellency will now be very willing to defray, upon the assurance that it shall be ready to move when required for your defence, and I propose to limit the contribution to the precise sum agreed to be paid by you in 1788 being *star pagodas* (42,768) forty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight per annum."

On the appointment of the Earl of Mornington as Governor-General, the Maha Rajah opened a

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friendly correspondence with that august personage, who held the Maha Rajah in great regard and esteem. The Dewan Kasava Pillay had many European friends in the persons of the Governors of Madras and Bombay, as well as in most of the Members of Councils, and he was also well acquainted with several military officers in the army under the two presidencies. He was in the habit of corresponding with the Governor-General, who looked upon him as one of the first Statesmen in India. In 970 M.E. (1795 A.D), the Governor-General proposed to the Maha Rajah a revised treaty on more liberal and detailed terms, and after a good deal of correspondence between the Dewan and the Indian Government, a new one was drawn out and submitted to the Maha Rajah. This treaty consisted of nine articles.

First.—"That the Company has renounced every claim to the three Travancore districts which Tippoo had ceded and which undoubtedly belonged to the Maha Rajah."

Second.—"If any power or States, near or remote, by sea or land, shall without aggression on the part of the Rajah of Travancore, attempt or begin hostility and war upon the country of the said Rajah or of his successors; under such circumstances the expulsion of, and the protection of, the country against such enemies rest with the Company's Government."

Third.—"In consideration of this stipulation the Maha Rajah bound himself and his successors to pay both in peace and war a sum equivalent to the expense of three battalions of the Company's troops."

Fourth.—"Should it so happen that the aforesaid force and the Rajah's own army be at any time found unequal to cope with, and defend the country against, the superior force of the enemy, the expense of such further troops as it may be necessary and requisite for the Company to furnish in such instances, is to be altogether at the said Company's cost; nor shall their

Government anyway object to furnish such additional ^{CHAP.} ^{III.} forces, the expense of which shall in no respect be chargeable on the Rajah or his successors; nor shall the Company ever apply for or demand any sum on that account nor possess any plea or claim to make any further requisition for pecuniary aid from the Rajah or his successors, by reason of any warfare or hostility that may hereafter eventually occur."

The *Fifth* clause imposed upon the Maha Rajah the obligation to abstain from all aggression towards any other State whether Indian or European and that "in the event of the Rajah or his successors having any disputes of a political nature or tendency, it is necessary that the same shall be transmitted by the latter to the Honorable Company's Government, who will determine thereon according to justice and policy and mutual concert."

Sixth.—"The reigning Rajah of Travancore for the time being shall not keep in his service, in any civil or military capacity nor allow to remain within his dominions as merchants or under any other plea or pretext, the subjects or citizens of any nation being at war with Great Britain or with the East India Company; nor under any circumstances of peace or war allow any European nation to obtain settlements (i. e., territories or places under his own authority) within the same, nor enter into any new engagements with any European or Indian States without the previous concurrence of the British Governments in India."

Seventh.—"When the Company shall require of the Rajah of Travancore any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being, to furnish such aid to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry exclusive of the native Nairs of his country, which succours, thus furnishable by the Rajah as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be

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liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula, as to Madura and Calicut; and to be, during such service at the Company's expense and under their orders."

The *Eighth* clause comprised a contract for the supply of pepper for the Company's investment.

Ninth.—The Company engage not to impede in any wise the course of the rule or of administration of the Rajah of Travancore's Government "nor at all to possess themselves nor enter upon any part of what regards the management of the present Rajah's or his successor's country."

This treaty was duly ratified in 1797 A.D. (972 M.E.) by the Court of Directors, and the Governor-General was exceedingly pleased with the Maha Rajah and the Dewan Kasava Pillay.

About this time, the English having conquered the Dutch and annexed Cochin, the Dutch connection with the Travancore kingdom ceased, and Tangacherry and other Dutch possessions passed into the hands of the English. The services of all the Europeans in the army, excepting the English, were dispensed with at this time.

Though an enhancement in the amount of tribute had been obtained by the English by this treaty, still great advantages were justly expected to be derived by securing the permanent protection of one of the greatest rising powers in the world, and the Maha Rajah and the Dewan congratulated themselves on the success which had attended these negotiations, but the ignorant and lower orders of the country began to murmur on account of the increase of the tribute. The Maha Rajah observed that His Highness' great uncle had secured the kingdom from internal commotion by connecting it with Sree Padmanabha Swamy's Devaswam, but the Maha Rajah had followed in the footsteps of his renowned uncle, and had secured the kingdom to His Highness'.



RHYE KASAVA DASS DEWAN.

heirs from the invasion of foreign enemies, by insuring the support of a nation, which he prophesied would become in time, a power whose supremacy would extend throughout the world. The annual tribute had now become a little above two lacs and forty thousand rupees. But since the ratification of this treaty, the Maha Rajah enjoyed perfect peace of mind to which His Highness had been a stranger for a very long period, and began to devote his exclusive attention to the improvement of the country and the promotion of the welfare of its people.

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The kingdom of Travancore now flourished, with a peaceful and contented population, devoting their attention to agricultural, commercial and other industrious pursuits with greater zeal and vigour and with increasing prosperity, and the country soon occupied a conspicuous position amongst the south Indian principalities. There was a large number of rich and opulent Sowcars, residing, with immense capital for traffic, between Aramboly and Paravoor, and trade flourished under the wise rule of the sovereign and the able administration of the Dewan Kasava Pillay, who, besides proving himself to be a minister of versatile talents was a remarkable warrior, his skilful hands managing the sword and pen alike.

In recognition of the Dewan's merits and his valuable services, the Maha Rajah wished to grant him a jageer or some such royal gift, but as a proof of his disinterestedness the minister most honorably declined the boon under the plea that he was a man already amply provided for by his sovereign master and therefore stood in no need of such a grant.

This Dewan had not drawn any fixed pay during the tenure of his office, as he made it a point to receive from the treasury whatever money he wanted for his expenses, and to pay into the treasury whatever surplus income he obtained, and consequently, he was perfectly right in declining the proposed royal gift.

The Earl of Mornington conferred on this Dewan

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the title of "Rajah Kasava Dasa," in recognition of his merits and fidelity.

Lord Mornington had a very high opinion of his "ability and prudence" as well as "his attachment to the interests of the Company," and the Dewan was besides held in high estimation by the Governments of India, Madras and Bombay, as has been already stated.

The people of Travancore looked on him as they looked on the Maha Rajah, with a kind of filial regard and esteem and he is known up to this day among the people as "Valia Devanjee," the Great Dewan.

The family residence of this renowned Dewan was a place called Kunathoor, near Velavencode, about twenty-two miles south-east of Trevandrum, where his descendants are still residing, in ordinary circumstances.

This Maha Rajah was one of the best and most faithful Indian allies of the Honorable East India Company, and he was treated with uniform regard and esteem by the Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The title "Munnay Sultan Maharaj Rajah Rama Rajah Bahadur Shamsheer Jung" was offered by the Carnatic Nabob and accepted by the Maha Rajah, and the same was subsequently adopted by the succeeding sovereigns of Travancore.

It was in this Maha Rajah's time that the present long title, "Sree Padmanabha Dasa Vanji Pala Rama Yurmah Kulasekhara Kireetapathi Munnay Sultan Maharaj Rajah Rama Rajah Bahadur Shamaheer Jung" was introduced.

The reputation of this Maha Rajah had rapidly spread throughout the whole of India. It was in his time that the Travancore Rajah was known and generally styled "Rama Rajah" and "Dharma Rajah," which names are quite familiar to travellers who journey from Benares and other northern parts of India to Rameswaram or Ramanad.

The Hindustanee pilgrims from northern India, who often traverse the country between Ramaswaram and Benares, are provided with free meals and halting places throughout the territories of the Maha Rajah, and up to this day, these people exclaim loudly "Jeya Rama Raj Jeya Dharma Raj!" i.e., success to Ram Raj and prosperity to the land of charity, and continue doing so at every halting place, till they pass Aramboly.

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The Maha Rajah had the misfortune to lose his younger brother (the heir apparent), a prince of uncommon qualifications and natural talents, in the year 961 M.E. (1786 A.D.); and another brother, an accomplished Sanscrit scholar, also died in the year 968 M.E. (1788 A.D.).

At this period, there remained only a young prince of six years and having no prospect of issue from the Ranees, it was necessary to have recourse to adoption.

In the year 964 M.E. (1789 A.D.), two princesses were adopted from the family of Kolathnaud, who then resided at Mavalikaray.

This remarkable sovereign, of happy memory, ruled for the long period of forty years. He lived to the advanced age of seventy-three and closed his worthy career on the 6th Kumbham 973 M.E. (1798 A.D.), between one and two P.M., on the remarkable Hindu holy day called Sivarathri, leaving only one male member in the royal family, aged sixteen years, as heir to His Highness' throne.

The population, of every caste and creed, high and low, unanimously lamented the loss of this sovereign, so much so, that each family appeared to have looked upon it in the light of a personal calamity, as if it had been deprived of its own parental head. Never before had there been seen such demonstrations of mourning and sorrow in Travancore on a similar occasion.

All the public places and bazaars in the towns, as well as isolated shops, were closed for a week, and the

CHAP. III. people adopted the usual symbols of mourning voluntarily, even in the most distant localities in Travancore.

As in the former reign, there are numerous incidents and recollections concerning this Maha Rajah and His Highness' ministers, but for the reasons already stated in the last Chapter, we would not attempt to embody them all here. Nevertheless, one or two very interesting incidents may be noticed, which, while they show how attentively judicial matters were looked into, at the same time illustrate the great wisdom and foresight of the Maha Rajah and the tact of some of his subjects at that period.

On one occasion, when the Maha Rajah had assembled a party of men as usual, as a sort of jury, headed by himself as president, to consider and decide a case involving some most important claims put forward by a certain opulent and distinguished family, the Maha Rajah was seated on a chair, and the assembly formed two lines and stood on either side of the chair as customary, but before commencing business, an old man, a member of the assembly, arrived late, and standing in the centre, between the lines, put his right hand across his forehead and looked round, as if he were short-sighted from old age, and lifting his head direct to the spot where the Maha Rajah was seated, called out in a low voice "*Aividay yenta Thampuran Alunnally Irickunu*," i. e., "where is my sovereign seated?" The Maha Rajah said smiling, "*Mooppinai! nhande narayana irrickunu*" i. e., "O! old man! I am sitting just in the right." The drift of the old man was to sound His Highness' position in the affair, but the sagacious Maha Rajah was not in the least offended, but expressed much delight at the old man's wit and straightforwardness.

On another occasion, Tippoo Sultan sent Brahman spies to His Highness' Court, and they, assuming the character of great sastries (learned men), repaired to Trevandrum, and were one day seated in the mandapam, inside the pagoda, along with many other Brah-

mans, when the Maha Rajah entered the pagoda to worship. His Highness looked on the assembled persons as usual, and returned to the palace. After reaching the palace, the Maha Rajah ordered one of the attendant hurikaraks, to call in the two sastrics, and when they came before him, they began to repeat several verses and poems composed by them in honor of Sree Padmanabha Swamy, and also in praise of His Highness, and of the highly renowned administration of the State, and lastly, of the strength and condition of His Highness' army and of the strong fortifications of Travancore. When they finished this display of their eloquence, the Maha Rajah calmly and with a pleasant countenance and tone, asked them whether Tippoo Sultan Sahib was quite well and if the Sultan was then engaged in warfare! The Brahmans were struck with admiration and fear, but the Maha Rajah soothed them with kind words, and told them plainly that they need not be afraid of any injury, as long as they stayed within the jurisdiction of His Highness; that they should have full permission to move about the country and make all the observations they possibly could. The Brahmans were so overcome by the Maha Rajah's kindness and goodness, as well as by his courage, that they at once acknowledged the true character of their mission, and much valuable information was obtained from them. The spies were allowed to return, not only unmolested, but with such presents as were usually given to learned Brahmans who resorted to the Maha Rajah's Court.

To show how particular this Maha Rajah was, how minutely he looked into affairs even in his old age, and the familiarity that existed between the Sovereign and his ministers, we annex here a translation of an autograph letter addressed to His Highness by Kasava Pillay Dewan, while he was at Dindigal with the Travancore force. It appears that the Dewan delayed a little to move on with the Travancore army to join that of the Honorable East India Company, and that the delay at such a critical time, was not only injudi-

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cious, but was also attended with additional expenditure. The Maha Rajah wrote to the Dewan a sharp letter, to which the latter addressed the following reply:—

“I received and perused the royal writ forwarded to me by Kariakar Venctaswara Iyen and others conveying instructions for my guidance. They also delivered into my hands Your Royal Highness’ letter to Lord Cornwallis.”

“I shall embrace an early opportunity of meeting His Lordship at the camp and after holding a conference, shall personally present the letter.”

“As some delay has occurred on the road, after I took leave of Your Highness, I have not been able to accompany the General to this place, but by the grace of the Almighty, I expect Your Highness’ force will form shortly a junction with theirs.”

“Pecuniary difficulties had in a measure caused the delay, but that is a matter not to be made public.”

“As it is necessary that Your Highness’ force should move in good style and neatly dressed, that was also a cause of the delay.”

“I am led to infer from several incidents, that Your Highness considers the expenses I am incurring extravagant. When my present engagements, which I have undertaken by Your Highness’ command, prove successful, all such delays as are caused by me will, by the mercy of God, turn to Your Highness’ own advantage; but on the other hand, Your Highness may consider that such have been the result of my indiscretion.”

“Anyhow, no act on my part will ever be calculated to prejudice Your Highness’ dignity, while all my acts are calculated to promote Your Highness’ glory.”

“I write at this length, as I cannot allay my anxieties, unless I communicate all my grievances to Your Highness. and I solicit that this may not be taken amiss.”

"I am not wanting in energy, nor by Your Highness' gracious condescension, shall suffer even its diminution." CHAP.
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"The creatures born on the Maha Meru (a supposed golden mountain sustaining the world and the sky), cannot but have, even in some slight degree, a reflection of its greatness; so born as I, though humble and poor, am in Your Highness' auspicious realm, which is the ocean of Your Highness' glory, and supported as I am, by Your Highness' glory, cannot but reflect on myself by Your Highness' merciful countenance in whatever clime I may be; like the sun's rays to which I shall compare Your Highness' kindness."

"As Your Highness is the sovereign disposer of adequate reward and punishment for good and evil, I, Your Highness' servant, prostrate myself before Your Highness' lotus-like feet, which I always bear on my head and implore that Your Highness' good blessing and unceasing mercy and benediction may be extended to me, at all times and places, like the rays of the sun. Awaiting Your Highness' further commands.

I beg to subscribe myself,

Your Highness'

Vassal, KESHAVEN."

Such has been the relative position of master and servant in Travancore, and the above letter and the sentiments expressed therein are well worth the study of the present generation. There are numerous accounts concerning this reign, which may be brought into this work, but instead of increasing the bulk of the volume with facts, the accuracy of which may be open to question it would be preferable to quote here passages from Fra. Bartolomeo's works, as this remarkable author gives a full description of the renowned Maha Rajah, and of his administration, from personal knowledge:—

"The military forces of the present king of Travancore consist of 50,000 men, disciplined according to

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" the European manner; and 100,000 Malabar *Nayris*
 " and *Oegos*, armed with bows and arrows, spears,
 " swords, and battle-axes. He keeps two *Valia Sarva-*
 " *dicàriacàrer*, the *Vadakemugham* and the *Tekmug-*
 " *nam*, one of whom is established in the north and the
 " other in the south. Each of these has under him
 " four other officers, called only *Sarvadicàriacàrer*.
 " These have inspection over four subalterns, or *Oaria-*
 " *càrer*; and these subalterns have under them *Pràvar-*
 " *ticàrer*, *Oiandràrer*, and *Torràrer*; or collectors of
 " the taxes, overseers and judges. The troops are
 " always marching up and down through the country,
 " to change their cantonments, to enforce the collection
 " of the taxes, and to preserve peace and tranquillity.
 " Public security is again restored throughout the
 " whole country; robbery and murder are no longer
 " heard of; no one has occasion to be afraid on the high-
 " ways; religious worship is never interrupted; and
 " people may rest assured that on every occasion
 " justice will be speedily administered. The present
 " king has caused several canals to be constructed, in
 " order to unite different rivers with each other and
 " with the sea. By his desire also a very beautiful
 " road has been completed between Cape Comari and
 " *Oudungalur*; so that in the course of 24 hours he
 " can be informed of everything that takes place
 " throughout his whole kingdom. After deducting
 " the expenses of Government, his yearly income may
 " amount to half a million of rupees, arising from trade,
 " duties, and various kinds of fines. One-half of this
 " revenue is deposited in the royal treasury, and
 " never touched but in cases of the utmost necessity.
 " The king, as well as all the other pagan Indians, the
 " chief men even not excepted, live according to the
 " manner of the Pythagoreans, and use no other food
 " than rice, milk, fruit and herbs. He generally wears
 " a tunic of dark blue silk; a long white robe, fastened
 " at the breast with a string of diamonds; long white
 " trousers, of red silk; and shoes, the points of which
 " are bent so towards like those of the Chinese. A

“sabre is suspended from his shoulders; and in the
 “blue girdle bound round his loins is stuck a
 “poniard, or Persian dagger, which can be used either CHAP.
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 “for attack or defence. When he shows himself to
 “the people in full State, he is attended by 5,000 or
 “6,000 men, together with a great number of palan-
 “quins and elephants. At the head of the procession
 “is a band of musicians, and two court poets, who
 “celebrate in songs his great achievements. He is
 “borne in a palanquin; and the principal gentlemen
 “of his court must walk on each side of it. In my
 “time he was very much attached to the Catholic
 “missionaries. As often as he passed by the parson-
 “age house at *Angenga*, where I resided two years,
 “he always sent two of the gentlemen of his bed-
 “chamber to enquire after my health.

“This sovereign had two powerful enemies: one in
 “the north, Tippoo Sultan, now prince of *Maïssur*
 “and *Concam*; and another in the south-east, the
 “prince of *Arrucate*, Mohamed Aly Khan, of whom
 “I have already spoken in the preceding Chapter.
 “The latter has it in his power to make an attack, by
 “*Tovala*, one of the fortresses which lie near Cape
 “Comari, towards the east; and the former can
 “attempt the same thing in the district of *Palaca-*
 “*ticeri*, the last city in the kingdom of *Concam*,
 “towards the west. Through a dread of these two
 “dangerous neighbours, the king of Travancor found
 “himself obliged to conclude a treaty of alliance with
 “the English, and to make a common cause with them
 “both in peace and war. As long as he enjoys the
 “friendship of these allies, from whom he pur-
 “chases freedom and security at a sufficiently dear
 “rate, and as long as he pays regularly what is due
 “on that account, his dominions will be protected and
 “defended; but if ever a quarrel should arise between
 “him and the Governor of Madras, he is one of the
 “first Indian princes that will fall a sacrifice. The
 “annual tribute which he is obliged to pay to the
 “English, amounts to half a lack of rupees or 25,000

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"Roman scudi. In the time of war he must supply them, over and above, with horses, cannon, soldiers, and rice. He is an affable, polite, contented, prudent, and friendly man. On account of the integrity of his character, and his many good moral qualities, it is the more to be lamented that he is so zealously attached to idolatry, and is so much blinded as not to perceive the value of the Christian religion. It cannot, however, be denied, that nothing tends so much to rivet the affection of subjects, as when the sovereign adheres to the established religion, and worships the deity in the same manner as his people. *Rama Varmer* never omits being present at the ceremonies and devotional exercises of the pagans, as will be seen in the following Chapter.*

"Pope Clement XIV by an apostolical letter had recommended, in a particular manner, the Christians of Malabar to the protection of the king of Travancor. This letter, dated July 2nd, 1774, arrived at *Verapole* just at the time when the *Pravaticarer* of that place took possession of our rice-fields and gardens, under a pretence that the missionaries, as well as the Bishop, ought to pay the usual imposts and taxes, which all other subjects were obliged to pay for their lands. We insisted, however, on our immunity, and represented to him, that *Martandapulla*, the commander-in-chief and prime minister of the former king *Vira Martanda Pala*, had declared us free from all public burdens whatever: but the *Pravaticarer* paid no regard to our remonstrances; endeavoured to enforce payment by violent means, and for that purpose caused our convent and church to be beset by fifty Mahometans, who suffered no person to go out or to enter. These people, who at all times are sworn enemies of the Christians, behaved in so indecent a manner, and made so much noise.

* This information is of the utmost importance to the modern history of India; and the author is entitled to thanks for having communicated it to the public. H

“that our Bishop and Apostolic Vicar, Carolus à Sancto Conrado, was half dead with fear. I tried to compose his mind as much as possible; and as I knew that the deed by which immunity from all imposts was secured to us, as well as the Pope’s letter, were to be found among our papers, I sent for the *Pravarticarer*, and, in the presence of more than 80 Christians, protested against his conduct, and summoned him to appear before the king. At the same time I wrote to Father Clemens à Jesu, requesting that he would repair to *Verapole* as soon as he could. When he arrived, we submitted the whole affair to mature discussion, and at length resolved to appeal immediately to the king.

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“We therefore purchased without delay two European paintings, a large mirror, fifteen pounds of red sandal-wood, and 12 bottles of Persian rose water; articles which, according to the established etiquette, must be presented to the king by those who wish to obtain an audience. On the 20th of June 1780, we proceeded to *Tiruvandaburam*, and immediately made the prime minister acquainted with our intention.

“As M. Adrian Moens Governor of Cochin, and M. John Torless Governor of *Angenga*, had both written letters to the king in our favour, the minister embraced the earliest opportunity of gratifying our wishes; and the more so as we had taken the precaution to announce ourselves as delegates from the Pope, and procurators of the missionary establishment.

“As soon as we made our appearance before the gate of the castle, the guard presented his arms, and the minister sent a guide to conduct the persons who bore our palanquin to the door of the palm-garden in which the king resided. Here our coolies, or palanquin-bearers, were obliged to remain behind us, lest, being people of the lowest caste, they might contaminate the royal place. At this

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"door we were received by the king's commander-in-chief, who conducted us through the palm-garden to a second door, where the king was waiting for us. He received us standing, and surrounded by a great number of princes and officers. Near him stood his son, with a drawn sabre in his hand; and, in a shady place were three chairs, one of which was destined for the king, and the other two for me and my colleague. When we had all three taken our seats, the attendants formed a circle around us. I then produced the Pope's letter, which I had hitherto carried in a pocket-book richly embroidered according to the eastern manner; raised it aloft; applied it to my forehead in order to show my respect for the personage in whose name I presented it; and then delivered it to *Sampradi Keshavapulla*, the Secretary of State. The latter handed it to the king, who also raised it up, and held it to his forehead as a token of respect for His Holiness. At the moment when the Pope's letter was delivered there was a general discharge of the cannon of the castle. After the king had asked us some common questions respecting the naval war between the English and the French he enquired of me, in particular, how long I had been in Malabar; and how I had learned to speak the language of the country with so much fluency. "I have often observed," added he, "that other Europeans are either unacquainted with it, or, for want of the proper pronunciation, express themselves so badly that they can scarcely be understood." I immediately replied, that I had carefully studied the Brahmin book *Amarasinha*. The king, on this answer, seemed highly pleased. "What!" said he, "do you read our books?"—This is the real and principal cause why the king, during the whole time of my residence in Malabar, behaved to me with so much kindness. He entertained the utmost reverence for the writings and religion of his people; and as he saw that they were studied by the Europeans, this paved the way for my obtaining from

"him afterwards many favours, which were of the
 "greatest benefit to the Christian religion. CHAP.
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"When the king had conversed for some time on
 "various topics, he ordered his minister and secretary
 "to give such an answer to our petition and such
 "relief to our grievances, which we had specified on an
 "ola, that we might return home perfectly satisfied
 "and easy. For my part, I could not help admiring
 "the goodness of heart, affability, and humanity of this
 "prince, as well as the simplicity of his household
 "establishment and way of life. At that time he and
 "all the persons of his court, according to the Malabar
 "mode, had nothing on their bodies but a small piece
 "of cloth fastened round the loins; and the only
 "mark of distinction by which his royal dignity could
 "be discovered, was a red velvet cap with gold fringes.
 "At our departure he accompanied us as far as the
 "door. Next morning the prime minister, *Cumären*
 "*Cembaga Ramapulla*, sent for us to his apartments,
 "and enquired very minutely respecting the behaviour
 "of the *Pravaticarer* at *Verapole*. Being informed
 "that this officer, with the assistance of the Mahome-
 "tans, had prevented the Christians from frequenting
 "our Church, he was highly displeased; and immedi-
 "ately wrote to the *Cariacarer* at *Parur* to remove
 "him from his office as an inconsiderate man, who
 "was little acquainted with the king's interest. A
 "new instrument was expedited in our presence, by
 "which immunity from all imposts whatever was
 "secured to our convent in future. The king then
 "sent to us by a Brahman, who acted the part of
 "household steward, and who was accompanied by
 "another officer, a service of dishes prepared after the
 "Malabar manner, and which were paid for out of the
 "royal treasury. These particular marks of favor
 "are shown only to such persons as give the king
 "distinguished proofs of their respect.

"The king had learned English for several months,
 "and spoke it exceedingly well. As he observed that

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"the English was as familiar to me as the Malabar he sent to me in the evening his chamberlain, *Payampalli Curipu*, to request that I would explain to him, in the Malabar language, the parts of speech of the English grammar, because he was always at a loss respecting them. He had indeed an English master; but he was not able to give him a proper explanation, in the Malabar language, of the precise meaning of these technological terms. I immediately wrote them down on a piece of paper, and arranged them in two opposite columns, the one in English, and the other in the Malabar language. The king found my explanation perfectly clear, and ever after called me always his *Guru* or preceptor. He was extremely desirous to retain me at his court; but the crafty Brahmans found means to dissuade him from his design. My companion and I therefore returned home; the *Pravaticarer* was displaced; and our convent, as well as the Missionary establishment, was suffered to remain in peace and tranquillity. The Christians of *Alapushe* and *Muttam* were so rejoiced at the deposition of the *Pravaticarer*, that they came to meet us, as we returned, with drums and other musical instruments.

"Some time before I sailed for Europe, being desirous to obtain an answer from the king to the letter which had been written to him by Clement XIV, I at length received one by means of *Payampalli Curipu*, before mentioned. It was addressed to the present Pope Pius XVI, and contained, besides other things, an assurance from the king that he would take under his protection the Missionaries and Christians in general, who had been recommended to him by His Holiness. M. Pistro de Veigas, who instructed the king in English, and who had the care of the correspondence with foreign courts, translated it into Portuguese. The king subscribed it with his own hand, and, according to the oriental custom, caused it to be inclosed in a bag, in which I transmitted it to M. Antonelli, the director of the

“ *Propaganda*. The present Pope returned an answer CHAP. III.
 “ in an Apostolic letter, dated February 24th, 1790,
 “ and at the same time sent him his portrait, which
 “ arrived safely on the coast of Malabar, and was deli-
 “ vered to His Majesty in the month of March, 1793,
 “ by my agent Franciscus à Sancto Elisæo, a bare-
 “ footed Carmelite. This ecclesiastic, in a letter
 “ dated *Verapole*, May 18th, 1793, informed me that
 “ the king had received him in the politest manner,
 “ and had testified the utmost satisfaction on account
 “ of the letter, as well as the Pope’s portrait; so that
 “ he expected the best consequences from them. The
 “ king, indeed, soon after, took such measures that
 “ all the grievances of the Malabar Christians were
 “ redressed in the kindest manner; and he presented
 “ Father Franciscus with a gold bracelet worth one
 “ hundred rupees. There is reason, therefore, to hope
 “ that Christianity on the Malabar coast will acquire
 “ new strength, and be again raised to its former state
 “ of respectability.

“ In the year 1783 some of the clergy on the coast
 “ of Travancor thought proper to impose certain fines
 “ on the Christian fishermen belonging to their congrega-
 “ tions. The fishermen complained to the king, who
 “ was then at *Padmanaburam*, and requested he would
 “ expel these ecclesiastics from the kingdom. The
 “ king, in consequence of this application, sent a letter
 “ to the Bishop and Apostolic vicar, Carolus à Sancto
 “ Conrado, in which he informed him that he had
 “ resolved to separate totally seventy-five congregations
 “ from the diocese of Cochin, and to place them under
 “ the inspection of the Apostolic vicar, that he might
 “ commit the charge of them to his Missionaries belong-
 “ ing to the *Propaganda*. He therefore desired that
 “ the Bishop would immediately repair to *Patnam*, to
 “ examine into the conduct of the above Portuguese
 “ clergy; and that he would dismiss those found
 “ culpable, and take possession of the before-mentioned
 “ churches.

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"The Bishop being at that time sick, I was obliged to supply his place, and to proceed to *Padmanaburam*. At *Tiruvandaburam* my coolies or palanquin-bearers ran away; so that I was obliged to travel twelve miles on foot on the king's high road, named *Madacava*, which none but the Brahmans and nobility dared to tread. As soon as I approached *Padmanaburam*, I repaired to a very small church on the south side of the castle; for the gates were shut, and no person belonging to the inferior casts, in which the Europeans are commonly included, was suffered to enter the city. This took place on the 23rd of September 1783. Scarcely, however, had the king heard of my arrival, when he resolved to make an exception in my favor from the severity of this law. He therefore sent to me, next morning, four of the nobility of his court to conduct me into the city. They accompanied me to the habitation of the king's secretary, where His Majesty was waiting to receive me; for on that day he could not give me audience in his own palace, lest it should be defiled.

"When I approached the place, the king's guard of honor, consisting of 500 men, came under arms to meet me; and formed themselves into two lines, between which I was obliged to pass. The king, who was sitting in an European arm-chair, received me with great friendship, and addressed me as follows: "I have sent for you, father, that you may settle the disputes between my Christian subjects and your clergy. It is my will that the clergy have a sufficient maintenance, and a proper income for their support; but I will not suffer them to oppress my subjects by the imposition of fines. Look," added he, "here stands my minister (the *Sirvadacari-acàrer Nagampulla*), and there my secretary *Sampradi Keshavapulla*), devise with them what is best to be done, and then let me know the result." We did as the king desired; and as I had no great inclination to undertake the very difficult and burdensome administration of seventy-five congrega-

“ tions, I endeavoured to prevail on the ministers to
 “ write to the Archbishop of Goa, and accommodate
 “ the matter in an amicable manner. Some of the
 “ clergy complained of were obliged to pay a certain
 “ sum of money, by way of punishment; and a new
 “ *Padiòla* or tarif, was established, to settle once more
 “ the fees which the Christians should pay to the
 “ clergy for discharging their sacred functions, and
 “ which the latter should be authorized to exact.

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“ As the king would not suffer me to depart till this
 “ business was completely settled, I was obliged to
 “ remain sixteen days at *Padmanaburam*. During
 “ that period His Majesty sent to me every day the
 “ *Kopu*, which is a certain dish prepared in the Mala-
 “ bar manner. As the festival of the goddess Saras-
 “ vadi was then celebrating, (on which account, as I
 “ have already said, the gates of the city were shut),
 “ I employed a part of my time in observing the
 “ religious practices of the Brahmins.” * * * *

“ As the *Cassanar* or clergyman of the Christians
 “ of St. Thomas at *Callurcada*, whose name was
 “ *Ciandi*, had applied to me to get some abuses
 “ reformed which had crept into his congregation, I
 “ conversed on that subject with the prime minister
 “ *Cumàren Chembaga Ràmapulla*, and procured from
 “ him a letter to the officer at *Ambàlapushe*, to whose
 “ jurisdiction *Oullurcada* was subject. I shall here
 “ subjoin a copy of it, translated word for word from
 “ the Malabar language :

“ “ The business respecting which I write is this.
 “ Father Paolino appeared before His Majesty at
 “ *Padmanaburam*, and informed him that some Map-
 “ pulians (so the Christian women are commonly called)
 “ in the parish of *Callurcada*, which is subject to the
 “ jurisdiction of the Governor of *Cembacolum*, indulge
 “ in criminal intercourse with various Shuddras (pagan
 “ nobility of the fourth cast), and condescend to live
 “ with them as concubines. Now, as this is the case,
 “ continued the Father in name of the Bishop of *Vera-*

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"pole, the distinction between the casts will be destroyed and nothing but confusion will prevail among the different classes of the inhabitants; which gives him great uneasiness.

" "Some person in the neighbourhood, and particularly the Governor, ought certainly to have communicated by letter an account of these irregularities, of so much importance to be known. When the Father transmits to you a list of those who keep concubines, you will immediately cause them to be arrested and imprisoned. If they are convicted of the crime, send them hither under a military guard, that they may be banished from the country, and transported beyond the boundaries of *Tovàla*. The effects of the *Mappulians*, who condescend to be kept as concubines, shall be seized and confiscated; and an account of their immoveable goods shall be delivered in to His Majesty's exchequer.* Such is the will of His Majesty.

" "The Father states further, that when the *Mappulians* (christians of St. Thomas) assemble to attend divine service, the *Pravaticarer* (receiver of the king's revenue) seizes the boat in which they arrive, drags the people by force from the church doors, and compels them to serve His Majesty. In the last place, the Father has complained to His Majesty, that some Magistrates at *Ambalapushe* borrowed money, a long time ago, from the church, and have paid neither principal nor interest; and also that a large copper kettle borrowed from them had received

* It is here evident, that confounding the different casts was assigned as a reason by the Roman Catholic clergy, why women of the inferior casts, who suffered themselves to be kept as concubines, by *Nayrs* of the higher casts, ought to be punished. By these means they supported a pagan custom, totally inconsistent with the spirit of true Christianity, which considers all mankind as children of the same father. This syncretism of the pagan and the Christian religion has at all times been followed by the Church of Rome. In China, for example, the Jesuits declared the heavens to be a divinity, and permitted their adherents to worship it, as well as allowed different kinds of oblations. F.

"considerable damage, and that no compensation had been made for it. CHAP.
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" 'In consequence of these complaints, His Majesty has ordered, and commands by the present letter, that all money borrowed from the church shall be repaid as speedily as possible, with the usual legal interest; and it is at the same time expressly forbidden to borrow any thing from it in future. Those who took possession of the boat shall be condemned to pay a fine, and to give the proprietors of the boat a proper compensation for the use of it. Those who employed the kettle shall make good the damage, and be over and above punished. The kettle shall be immediately returned, and never again taken from the church for any profane purpose.

" 'That all these commands of His Majesty may be strictly attended to, and immediately put in execution, His Majesty transmits to you, at *Ambalapushe*, the present letter, by a *Velkaren* (one of his guards of honor, armed with a pike and staff), who has orders not to suffer you to quit your house till every thing be punctually done as here desired. Should you, however, be indisposed, His Majesty will not enforce his orders with severity; but requests that you immediately write to the *Cariacarer* (inferior magistrate), and charge him with the execution of these commands. The *Velkaren* will confine him in his own house under a proper guard till every thing is done to your satisfaction. His Majesty also requests, that he may be informed by the *Velkaren*, when this business is brought to the wished-for conclusion. This rescript shall be transmitted by the clerk and secretary of the criminal court to the *Sarvadicariacarer* at *Alampushe*, and be registered among the royal rescripts. This was written, in consequence of His Majesty's orders, by *Cumaren Gembaga Ramapulla Ramen*.'—On the back of it were the following words: "*Ambalapusha Mughatta Sarvadicariacarerka varuna Sadhanam*;" that is,

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“letter to be transmitted to the chief magistrate at
“Ambalapushhe.

“This letter of a pagan minister may serve as a
“proof how much power the light of sound reason has
“among a people whom the Europeans call barbarous.
“It affords a specimen also of the policy and attention
“to the executive part of Government which prevail
“at the court of this Malabar monarch. He has only
“to command, and his orders are immediately executed
“with the utmost punctuality. His ministers neither
“can nor dare have recourse to such subterfuges as
“those of the European courts. An oath from the
“king, a small twig suspended at the door in his
“name, or mere confinement at one’s own house, is a
“check upon the conduct of the minister, as well as
“upon that of the other subjects. When such mild
“measures, however, do not produce the intended
“effect, the offenders are subjected to a fine, or to cor-
“poral punishment; to imprisonment, banishment
“from the country, or perpetual slavery in chains.

“As soon as I had received the two letters before
“mentioned, I departed from *Padmanaburam*. The
“minister paid me 100 *Kalis*, to defray the expenses
“of my journey; and gave orders that the coolies
“who carried my palanquin along the sea coast, from
“one place to another, should be paid from the royal
“treasury. When I arrived at *Parur*, the Mahometans
“there protested against the king’s order, and would
“not carry me farther, under the pretence that, being
“a *Tanguel* or Christian priest, I was an enemy to their
“religion. I was obliged, therefore, to stop five whole
“hours till the king’s *Pravaticarer* appeared, who
“caused the refractory coolies to be soundly beaten,
“and commanded them again to take up my palan-
“quin.”* * * *

“In the month of April 1784, the overseers of the
“temple of *Shiva* at *Mattincera* would not permit the
“missionaries to sow the rice-fields which they had on
“lease from them. As no other piece of land could be

"procured at that time, the missionaries complained to
 "M. VanAngelbec, Governor of Cochin. This gentle-
 "man, finding that the fields lay in the dominions of
 "the king of Travancor, and that he could do
 "nothing in the business, advised me to take a second
 "journey to *Padmanaburam*, in order to procure
 "another rescript from the king; and he at the same
 "time furnished me with some letters of recommend-
 "ation. On the 21st of April, I reached *Padmana-*
 "*buram* in safety. I carried along with me the Mala-
 "bar, English, and Portuguese grammar, which I had
 "composed at *Ciattiyatti*, and which the king had
 "required from me, that the ministers of his court
 "might learn English and Portuguese by the assistance
 "of the Malabar language. Scarcely had the king
 "heard of my arrival when he sent two young noble-
 "men, *Padmandbhenpulla* and *Payampalli Curipu*, to
 "welcome me in his name, and to attend me to an
 "audience. I found the king in the *Varanda*, that is,
 "the portico of his palace, sitting on a Persian carpet,
 "and leaning with one arm on a large velvet cushion
 "ornamented with gold fringes. When I delivered to
 "him the grammar, his joy seemed to be beyond
 "all description. In my presence he sent for the two
 "lords of his bed chamber, before mentioned; shewed
 "them the grammar; advised them to study it dili-
 "gently; and represented to them how necessary it
 "was that Princes as well as Statesmen, on account of
 "their continual intercourse with the Europeans,
 "should make themselves acquainted with these lan-
 "guages. On this occasion, the king presented me
 "with a gold bracelet, a gold style for writing on
 "palm leaves, and a small knife for cutting these
 "leaves to the proper size. I received from him also
 "a letter to the civil officer at *Parur*, in consequence
 "of which he was to announce publicly that the king
 "had done me the honour to appoint me one of the
 "gentlemen of his court. The intrinsic value of the
 "above presents was indeed not very considerable,
 "for it was equal only to about twelve sequins; but

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"in other respects, they were of the highest importance, as the king gives such articles to those only who have merited his favor. No person in Malabar dare use any of them without the king's express permission. They are marks of honor, which he distributes in the same manner as our European princes do ribbons of different orders. Those also who receive them enjoy certain privileges and advantages; such, for example, as that they cannot be carried before any Magistrate till the king is previously informed; that they can travel every where along the highways; that they are not obliged to wait in the minister's anti-chamber, and that they are not required to give place to any person whatever; with other things of the like kind.

"The king made no hesitation to cause a rescript to be prepared, in virtue of which we were authorized to sow our fields with rice. Having thus accomplished the object of my journey, I set out to return; and, proceeding along the sea coast, arrived in five days at *Verapole*. Here I was obliged to supply the place of vicar-general; for our Bishop, *Carolus à Sancto Conrado*, had gone to Bombay, where he fell ill, and died on the 6th of January 1785.

"On the 8th of September 1786 I again had an audience of the king, *Rama Varmer* at *Parur*, where I obtained another rescript, by which he granted to the congregation at *Verapole* a small piece of land, that had been gradually thrown up, and formed by the river before our convent.

"In the year 1787 I remained at his court at *Teruvandaram* during the whole month of April, and defended there the privileges of the missionaries against the rebellious Christians, who refused any longer obedience to the European Bishop of that district.

"In the year 1788, I paid a visit to the king of *Travancor*, near *Canigia*, at the country seat of the

"before-mentioned Governor of Cochin, M. VanAn-
 gelbec, a man of great talents and integrity. Though ONAP.
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 "a Lutheran, he rendered us essential service upon
 "many important occasions, and particularly during
 "the disputes which the pagan governors began with
 "the missionaries and bishops. The prime minister
 "*Cumàren Cembaga Ràmapulla* had died, and was
 "succeeded by the king's secretary *Sampràdi Keshava-*
 "*pulla*. This ambitious young man assumed the
 "name of the Indian Bacchus, *Devanishi*, and exacted
 "from the subjects exorbitant taxes, in order to
 "increase the public revenue, and ingratiate himself
 "with the king. During the contest, in which we
 "were involved with the rebellious Christians of St.
 "Thomas, in the year 1787, he imposed on the mission-
 "ary establishment at *Verapole* a tribute of 500
 "crowns. The king, however, had long before
 "remitted this tax; but we had no written document
 "to adduce as a proof. *Devanishi*, just at this time,
 "took it into his head to send to *Verapole* six soldiers,
 "under a petty officer, with orders to confine the
 "apostolic vicar, *Louis Maria à Jesu*, to his apart-
 "ment and to guard him there till the 500 crowns
 "were paid. The bishop having informed me, by a
 "note, of his arrest, I immediately repaired to the
 "king, who at that time was at *Perimannur*, not far
 "from *Angicaimal*. As *Devanishi* knew too well that
 "I was in great favor with the king, he refused me
 "the letter of introduction necessary to obtain an
 "audience, lest His Majesty should be made acquainted
 "with his bad conduct. The bishop had been already
 "two days in arrest, with two muskets placed across
 "each other before the door of his chamber. In this
 "state of distress I applied to M. VanAngelbec, and
 "informed him of every thing that had happened. He
 "sent for me to his house; and the king, as soon as
 "I appeared, saluted me with great civility, and we
 "immediately entered into conversation. All the
 "magistrates and members of the council at Cochin,
 "who were there assembled to pay their respects to

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"the king, and to settle some business respecting the Dutch East India Company, were struck with astonishment. When I told him that our bishop was in confinement, he seemed quite surprised; turned instantly round to the minister, and asked who had given such orders. The minister endeavoured to exculpate himself; but M. VanAngelbec, interrupting him, said, that bishops ought not to be treated in that manner. The king then caused a letter to be written to the petty officer commanding the party by whom the bishop was guarded, which contained an order for him to withdraw his men; and the minister, who heard all this, seemed greatly ashamed."

The above testimony, from a disinterested European missionary, is no ordinary compliment to Travancore, and is particularly valuable, especially at a time, when life and property in many other parts of India were in great jeopardy, and many territories were groaning under despotic rule, and most of them disturbed by gangs of robbers and plunderers.

The deep interest evinced by this Sovereign in the welfare of his subjects, fully justifies Fra. Bartolomeo's observations, and a review of some of the enactments enforced by the Maha Rajah would serve as additional corroborative testimony.

It has already been shown that judicial matters in Travancore were conducted on the principles of the Dharma Sastra or the laws of Manu and that the Sovereign acted as the head of the judicial department. The Sovereign of Travancore in the exercise of his legislative authority seems to have passed several special laws and rules under the designation of "Satta Wariola" for the administration of the affairs of the kingdom of which some only are preserved in the records and the last of them appears to be the one passed in the Malabar year 951 (1776 A.D).

As a specimen of this last mentioned enactment, we would here insert a few of its sections which will no doubt be interesting to the reader :

Translation of extract rules enacted by Vanji Pala Rama Vurmah Kulasekhara Perumal in the Malabar year 951 (1776 A.D.) for the guidance of the local officials and called "Satta Wariola." CHAP.
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"*Section 14.*—Provisions for the religious ceremonies and other wants of the Sircar shall be purchased from the inhabitants on payment of ready cash, and the established hire shall also be paid for carrying the provisions to the place where such are required; but in failure of immediate payment, the officer who conducts the transaction shall be made to pay the value with 50 per cent. interest and after paying the ryot, the surplus shall be credited to the Sircar as a fine for the neglect."

"*Sections 17, 18 and 19.*—Strict attention shall be paid to the charitable supply of water mixed with butter-milk to the weary travellers on the road, and the public inns, where this water is supplied, shall be thatched and kept always clean. Payment for butter-milk for this purpose shall be made daily and the pay of the person employed in giving water, shall be paid punctually in every month."

"*Section 21.*—The officials of every village shall inspect at every season all such lands as have suffered injury by the breaches of banks of tanks, canals, &c., and by any accumulation of sand and thus rendered unfit for immediate cultivation. The servants shall exert themselves in having such obstructions removed through the owners in all ordinary cases or cause the same to be removed by the owners of the adjacent lands conjointly; but if such works are found too expensive, the same shall be done at the Sircar expense and the land in question made cultivable at once without allowing the same to be laid waste for any time."

"*Section 24.*—Every village servant shall exert himself in exhorting the ryots to build fences round their gardens for protecting cultivation and have every garden planted with pepper, vines, cocoanut and plantain shoots. Measures shall also be adopted to prevent cattle trespass."

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"Sections 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35.—Every dispute settled by ryots concerning landed property shall be settled by the decision of four men of the village, (in the form of Punchayat) through the Proverticar; if that officer does not settle the case immediately, he shall be summoned before the district cutcherry and an adequate fine imposed upon him and the case enquired into by thadasthers (jury) formed of the inhabitants of the village where the disputed property is situated and in the presence of the district officer. The parties shall be then made to pay each one fanam (one seventh of a Rupee) as a vow to Padmanabha Swamy, and when the case is so decided by the thadasthers (jurors), the party gaining the case shall be required to pay a fee at the rate of 10 per cent. on the amount of his suit, and the contra-party who loses the case shall be required to pay a fee of 5 per cent."

"Section 44.—The district officials shall not apply fetters, chains and manacles to those ryots who are found entangled in any criminal charge."

"Section 46.—The district officials shall hold no proceedings at their private residence and every transaction of public business shall be done at the public cutcherry."

"Section 47.—The district officials shall attend their office at 7 A.M. and commence business, adjourning at 12 for taking meals, and return at 2 P.M. and hold office till 9 P.M. That the account of collection and disbursement shall be read over and the cash chest examined by the Tahsildar every day before quitting the office; that on the 30th of every month the Mudelpedicaren or cash-keeper shall be made to pay any sum which he may have disbursed in excess over the sanctioned amounts."

"Sections 52, 53, 54 and 55.—When petitioners appear before the district cutcherry, with their complaints, their cases shall be decided reasonably so as to be concurred in by public opinion; but no petitioner shall be detained to his inconvenience and put

to expense for feeding himself, pending the settlement of his case; that such cases as could be decided soon shall be settled then and there, and the parties dismissed. But such cases as would require time to settle shall be decided within eight days, and if any petitioner is detained before the district cutcherry beyond eight days, he shall be fed at the expense of the district officer." CHAP.
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"Sections 57 and 58.—When a female petitioner comes before the district cutcherry, her complaint shall be heard and settled at once and on no account shall a female be detained for a night."

"Section 59.—That not one of the subjects (ryots) shall be oppressed, by placing him in restraint, without allowing him even to attend to the calls of nature or making him stand within a given line in a stooping posture, or putting a stone on his back or keeping him in water or under the burning sun or confining him under starvation, neither shall he be subjected to any sort of disgrace.

"Section 70.—That no trees planted and reared by the inhabitants, such as mangoes and other fruit trees, which bear fruit for the use of the ryots shall be felled or cut for firewood on account of the Sircar. Firewood for Sircar purposes shall be invariably procured and cut from junglewood; that if any Sircar servant fells a jack tree or any other fruit tree on which pepper vine is grown, he shall be made to forfeit one-fourth of his pay as fine, and shall also be made to plant and rear ten such trees for the one that he has felled in the garden of a ryot, and he shall be held responsible for the care and protection of such plants for three years. No cocoanut trees or areca-nut trees shall be felled for Sircar purposes from the gardens of the ryots."

"Sections 72, 73, 74 and 75.—The attention of the district officer shall always be directed to the repairs of the public halting places called valiampalam (inns); that the repairs and newly erecting of bridges on

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public roads, and repairing and levelling of public roads as well as placing good canoes at every ferry shall also engage the vigilant attention of the head of the district; the pay of the ferryman shall be paid monthly. That the care of the avenue trees, as well as planting the same, on sides of the roads where there are no trees, shall be observed and the district officer will employ special men for this purpose."

"Section 77.—For the transmission of the Sircar goods and provisions the required number of boats shall be provided by the Sircar at their own expense, by getting a number of logs and scooping them into boats for the purpose.

"Section 83.—The measures by which the ryots are required to give paddy to the Sircar in part-payment of the land tax, shall be annually examined by the district officer and the ryot himself will be allowed to put the paddy into the measures at a fixed height, and the measurement shall be made by clearing the bridge of the parah."

We will now conclude this chapter with a quotation from Rajah T. Madava Row's review of this Maha Rajah's career from his unpublished manuscript history of this reign, a Malayalim translation of which has already been given to the public, as has been said in the previous chapter by the Travancore Book Committee :

"It was during the reign we are bringing to a close
"that the countries conquered by Travancore and
"composing this State as it now is, were fully and
"satisfactorily settled. Peace and order were completely established. The deposed Chiefs quietly
"acquiesced in honorable retirement, and the new
"subjects of the Maha Rajah found themselves in the
"enjoyment of blessings to which they had long been
"strangers. The wisdom, the moderation, the benevolence of the ruler of Travancore were universally felt,
"and acknowledged. Englishmen too proud to stoop
"to adulation called him the father of his people.

“The financial system of the country however cannot be said to have been improved during this reign. Liberal reforms were indeed not possible at a period when there were the most exacting demands upon the treasury. Monopolies were multiplied till almost every important article of trade was engrossed by the system. Pepper, cardamoms, ginger, cinnamon, areca-nuts, turmeric, salt, coppa, coir, tobacco, cotton, teak, blackwood and numerous other staples were brought and sold by the Sircar in view to benefit the public revenues. Of these pepper yielded considerable profits as it used to sell at 140 rupees per candy, and was much in demand for European markets. The cultivation of this spice was thereupon artificially stimulated beyond legitimate bounds, as proved by the circumstance that when the pressure of the monopoly was removed, the cultivation manifested a perceptible diminution. The trammels placed on the trade of the country by means of monopolies and transit duties would have proved fatal to commercial prosperity, had it not been that this evil was considerably compensated by the extreme lightness of the land-tax which greatly favoured protection.

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“Though the public revenues were thus augmented, they proved quite inadequate to meet the demands arising out of the war with Tippoo. The Maha Rajah was thus constrained to have recourse to a special war-tax. It was assessed exclusively on landed properties and limited to one year. The State imperatively required funds, and the Maha Rajah therefore imposed a heavy tax for a short period in preference to a light one for a long period. Indeed, the tax was one on capital and not on income. Though it might have been, in some cases, oppressive in its incidence, it had the advantage that it was demanded in the presence of the danger to which the country was exposed, and that its odium rapidly passed away. It had the further advantage that it could not be evaded, inasmuch as the general survey and assess-

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"ment of landed properties, instituted in 948 by the
"Maha Rajah's orders, had disclosed to the State the
"individual possessions of all holders. It is also to
"be noted that all descriptions of land, without
"respect to tenure, came under this extraordinary
"impost, which in the aggregate is said to have yielded
"about one million and seven hundred thousand
"rupees.

"But even extraordinary taxation failed to yield
"adequate means to answer the incessant call for
"funds. The Maha Rajah felt that he could not,
"without exciting dangerous discontent among his
"subjects, increase their burdens, and he saw no
"alternative but that of raising loans. Funds were
"indeed thus obtained to meet the pressing exigencies
"of the State, but the obligations incurred inevitably
"led to difficulties of the gravest character, difficulties
"which embittered the closing years of the Maha Rajah
"and culminated in a perilous crisis in the reign of
"his successor.

"The Maha Rajah departed this life between 1 and
"2 P. M. on Wednesday the 6th Kumbhum 973 (17th
"February 1798), in the seventy-fourth year of his age
"and the fortieth of his reign. Amid his sorrowing
"subjects, with due pomp and circumstance, his remains
"were, as usual, consigned to the funeral pile composed
"of sandal-wood, camphor, and other rare and aromatic
"combustibles.

"The deceased Maha Rajah may, unhesitatingly be
"pronounced a Prince who approached nearest to the
"Hindu ideal of a good king." Menu the great law-
"giver of the Hindus says:—

'Let the king prepare a just compensation for the
good and a just punishment for the bad, the rule of
strict justice let him never transgress.'

'A king was created as the protector of all those
classes and orders, who from the first to the last dis-
charge their several duties.'

‘ Let the king, having risen at early dawn, respectfully attend to Brahmans learned in the three Vedas and in the science of ethics, and by their decisions let him abide.’

‘ Constantly must he show respect to Brahmans who have grown old both in years and in piety, who know the scripture, who in body and mind are pure.’

‘ From them; though he may have acquired modest behaviour by his own good sense and by study, let him continually learn habits and modesty and composure, since a king whose demeanour is humble and composed, never perishes.’

‘ Through want of such humble virtue, many kings have perished with all their possessions, and through virtue, united with modesty, even hermits have obtained kingdoms.’

‘ Day and night must the king strenuously exert himself to gain complete victory over his own passions. Since that king alone, whose passions are completely subdued can keep his people firm to their duty.’

‘ He must appoint to public offices, men of integrity, well informed, steady, habituated to gain wealth by honorable means and tried by experience.’

‘ A king, even though dying with want must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the Vedas.’

‘ Of that king, in whose dominion a learned Brahman is afflicted with hunger, the whole kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine.’

‘ Let him not cut up his own root by taking no revenue, nor the root of other men by excess of covetousness: for by cutting up his own root and theirs he makes both himself and them wretched.’

‘ He must protect his people, discharging with great exertion and without langour all those duties, which the law requires him to perform.’

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‘As Indra sheds plentiful showers during the rainy months, thus let him, acting like the regent of clouds, rain just gratifications over his kingdom.’

“These and other cardinal precepts of the universal legislator, the Maha Rajah kept constantly in view and strove honestly to fulfil throughout his long tenure of regal power.”

“Judged even by the standard of modern times, the Maha Rajah must be allowed a high place in the catalogue of beneficent rulers. He was in every sense the model of a mild Hindu, amiable, urbane, just and generous. His humanity, compassion and hospitality are the theme of traditionary praise to this day. As a sovereign, he was remarkably truthful, straightforward and faithful to engagements. Blessed with a cool and calculating judgment, wisdom and prudence characterized the tenor of his long career, and as a consequence (to use the words of a native courtier of the time), ‘dangers and difficulties which came like mountains, passed away like mists.’ Extravagance and wasteful dissipation, the curse of oriental monarchs, the Maha Rajah can never be charged with. On the contrary he carefully husbanded the public resources and prudently restrained his personal expenditure. His conciliatory disposition was conspicuous throughout his blameless life. No one met him but carried away the most favorable impressions of his virtues and good nature. Fra. Paolino de San Bartolomeo who sought and obtained the honor of an audience says, ‘For my part, I could not help admiring the goodness of heart, affability and humanity of this Prince, as well as the simplicity of his household establishment and way of life.’

“The English Commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Malabar in 1792, and who also made the personal acquaintance of the Maha Rajah add their testimony by recording that, ‘We own he left a very favorable impression on our minds, both as to

"his personal good qualities, and what we consider as
 "the unequivocal sincerity of his attachment to the
 "Honorable Company.' His memory is justly revered
 "for the rare solicitude he felt and manifested for the
 "welfare of his subjects. In his reign, to quote again
 "the words of Bartolomeo, 'Public security is restor-
 "ed throughout the whole country; robbery and
 "murder are no longer heard of; no one has occasion
 "to be afraid on the highways; religious worship
 "is never interrupted; the people may rest assured
 "that, on every occasion, justice will be speedily
 "administered. And Englishmen, seldom, prone to
 "indulge in the language of adulation, called the Maha
 "Rajah 'the father of his people.'

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